

THE
NATIONAL
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

EDWARD I. SEARS, A. M. LL. D.

VOL. XIII. No. XXV. JUNE, 1866.

“Ulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.”

NEW YORK:

EDWARD I. SEARS, EDITOR AND PROPRIET

61 BROADWAY.

GENERAL AGENTS.

NEW YORK: SINCLAIR TOUSEY, 121 NASSAU STREET
100 WASHINGTON STREET. PHILADELPHIA:
SIXTH STREET. LONDON: TRUBNER
ROW. PARIS: VICTOR ALE

1866

STEINWAY & SONS'

GRAND, SQUARE, AND UPRIGHT

Piano-Fortes

Are now acknowledged the best instruments in America, as well as in Europe, having taken THIRTY-TWO FIRST PREMIUMS, GOLD AND SILVER MEDALS, at the principal fairs held in this country within the last ten years, and, in addition thereto, they were awarded a First Prize Medal at the Great International Exhibition in London, 18 52, for

POWERFUL, CLEAR, BRILLIANT, AND SYMPATHETIC TONE,
with excellence of workmanship, as shown in grand and square pianos.

These were 2-9 Pianos, from all parts of the world, entered for competition, and the special correspondent of the *Times* says:

"Messrs. STEINWAY'S instrument is in every respect more emphatic, and stronger and more to the point than that of any European maker."

"This greatest triumph of American Piano-fortes in England has caused a sensation in musical circles throughout the continent, and, as a result, the Messrs. STEINWAY are in constant receipt of orders from Europe, thus inaugurating a new phase in the history of American Piano-fortes, by creating in them an article of export."

EVERY STEINWAY PIANO-FORTE IS WARRANTED FOR FIVE YEARS.

Among the many and most valuable improvements introduced by Messrs. STEINWAY & SONS, in their Piano-fortes, the special attention of purchasers is directed to their

PATENT AGRAFFE ARRANGEMENT.

For which letters patent were granted them November 9, 1859.

The value and importance of this invention having been practically tested, during a period of nearly six years, by STEINWAY & SONS, in all their grand and highest-priced square Piano-fortes, and admitted to be the greatest improvement of modern times, they now announce that they have determined to introduce their "Patent Agraffe Arrangement" in every Piano-forte manufactured by them, without increase of its cost, in order that all their patrons may reap the full advantage of this great improvement.

TESTIMONIAL

OF THE

MOST DISTINGUISHED ARTISTS TO STEINWAY & SONS.

NEW YORK, December, 1864.

The Piano-Fortes, Grand, Square, and Upright, manufactured by Messrs. STEINWAY & SONS are established for themselves as world wide a reputation that it is hardly possible for us to do anything to their just fame.

Having thoroughly tested and tried these instruments personally for years, both in public sale, it becomes our pleasant duty to express our candid opinion regarding their unique superiority over any other Piano known to us.

Among the chief points of their superiority excellence are: Greatest possible depth, richness of tone, combined with a rare brilliancy, clearness and perfect evenness throughout range, and, above all, a surprising duration of sound, the pure and sympathetic quality of changes under the most delicate or powerful touch.

Truly is found exclusively in the Steinway Piano, and together with the matchless action, and promptness of action always characteristic of these instruments, as well as their durability under the severest trials, a truly surprising and claims at once every artist. We therefore consider the STEINWAY Pianos in all respects the best in this country or in Europe, and them solely and exclusively ourselves

recommend them invariably to our friends and the public.

We express our opinion regarding the Pianos of various makers, and pronounce Messrs. STEINWAY & SONS' Pianos superior to them all.

W. MASON,
HERT HELLER,
BERGE,
ANDERSON,
VOELLING,
JOHN
SCHUTZ,

B. WOLLENHAUT,
A. H. PEASE,
CARL WOLFSOHN,
A. DAVIS,
F. VON BREUNING,
THEO. FELD,
CARL BERGMANN.

STEINWAY & SONS,
& 73 EAST FOURTEENTH STREET,
a square and Irving place, New York.





PURELY MUTUAL.

KNICKERBOCKER LIFE INSURANCE CO.

Office: 161 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

Reversionary Dividend Averaging 72 per cent.

ERASTUS LYMAN, *President.*

GEORGE F. SNIFFEN, *Secretary.*

H. LASSING, *General Agent.*

Accumulated Fund for the Security of Policy Holders,

\$1,000,000.

This first-class Company offers the most liberal inducements to parties seeking Life Insurance, and will issue policies in amounts from \$100 to \$10,000 on all the various plans.

The official reports of the Insurance Commissioners of Massachusetts and New York, place the KNICKERBOCKER in the front rank of American Life Corporations.

Holders of Policies will have every privilege extended to them, in the settlement of premiums, and in the transaction of all business with the Company.

Dividends paid in Cash, or made Reversionary, as the Assured may elect.

Western Branch Office,

166 and 168 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.

B. F. JOHNSON,

Manager.

South-Eastern Branch Office,

16 Second Street, Baltimore, Md.

J. A. NICHOLS,

Manager.

Southern Branch Office,

89 Bay Street, Savannah, Ga.

AARON WILBUR,

Manager.

COLLEGE

OF THE

Christian Brothers,

ST. LOUIS, MO., 1865-66.

THIS Literary Institution possesses all the advantages of an agreeable and healthy location, easy of access, being situated on a rising ground, a little southwest of the Pacific Railroad terminus, in the city of St. Louis, Missouri. It was founded in 1851 by the Brothers of the Christian Schools, incorporated in 1855 by the State Legislature, and empowered to confer degrees and academical honors. However favorable the auspices under which it commenced its literary career, its progress since has surpassed all anticipation. Growing equally in public confidence and in the number of students, it has gone on extending its reputation. Repeated additions have been made to the original buildings. The number of Students received within the last year amounted to more than 600, and many applicants were refused admission for want of room.

Every possible attention is paid to whatever can contribute to the health and happiness of its inmates—ventilation, cleanliness, spacious halls, dormitories, refectory, recreation halls for cold or damp weather, &c., &c.

The various arts and sciences usually taught in colleges find here an appropriate place in a system of education established by experience, conducted on the most approved plan, and with a devotedness commensurate with the greatness of the work engaged in. By reason of the great number of classes, a thorough gradation for all capacities and acquirements has been attained, and the frequent examinations and promotions beget emulation, the soul of advancement, making labor a pleasure, and success certainty.

The course of instruction pursued in the Academy is divided into three departments: the primary, the intermediate, and the collegiate. There is, besides, an exclusively commercial course, offering rare advantages to young gentlemen who intend to make business their profession. It is divided into three classes, in which the chief place is given to instruction in Book-keeping, Arithmetic, Geography, and History, Business Forms, and Correspondence, Epistolary Composition, Penmanship, &c., with Lectures on Commercial Law, Political Economy, &c. Diplomas can be obtained in the commercial department by such as merit that distinction.

The session commences on the last Monday in August, and ends about the 31 of July, with an annual public examination, a distribution of premiums, and the conferring of degrees and academical honors.

On the completion of the course the degree of A. B. is conferred upon such students as, on examination, are found worthy of that distinction. The degree of A. M. can be obtained by graduates in the first degree after two years devoted to some scientific or literary pursuit, their moral character remaining unexceptionable.

The government is a union of mildness and firmness, energy, and kindness, a blending of paternal solicitude with fraternal sympathy; the results of which are contentment, good order, and happiness. The morals and general deportment of the students are constantly watched over; the Brothers preside at their recreations, and their comfort and personal habits receive every attention.

T E R M S .

Entrance Fee.....	\$8 00
Board and Tuition, per session.....	250 00
Washing.....	20 00
Physician's Fee.....	8 00
For Half Boarders.....	100 00
For Day Scholars.....	60 00
In the Senior Classes.....	40 00
Vacation at the Institution.....	40 00

Music, Drawing, and the use of apparatus in the study of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy form extra charges.

N. B.—Payments semi annually, and invariably in advance.

No deductions for absence, except in case of protracted illness or dismissal.

2d.—No extra charges for the study of the German, French, and Spanish languages.

UNIVERSITY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

THE EXERCISES WILL BE RESUMED AS FOLLOWS :

IN THE SCHOOL OF ART,

September 4.

PREPARATORY SCHOOL,

September 11.

IN THE

DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCE AND LETTERS,

AND

SCHOOL OF CIVIL ENGINEERING,

September 20.

THE SCHOOL OF LAW,

October 2.

THE SCHOOL OF ANALYTICAL AND PRACTICAL
CHEMISTRY,

AND THE

SCHOOL OF MEDICINE,

October 17.

Examinations for Admission to the Department of Science and Letters will take place in the Council Room on TUESDAY, September 19, at 9½. A. M.

For Circulars, enquire at the University, Washington square.

ISAAC FERRIS,

Chancellor

September 1, 1865.

IMPORTANT CHANGE IN THE DIVIDEND PERIODS
OF THE
EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY
OF THE
UNITED STATES,
No. 92 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

ACCUMULATED FUND	-	-	-	-	-	\$2,000,000,
ANNUAL INCOME	-	-	-	-	-	\$1,000,000.

PURELY MUTUAL.
ANNUAL CASH DIVIDENDS.

At the request of their numerous policy-holders, this Society have determined to declare their dividends **ANNUALLY IN CASH**. The first dividend will be declared February 1, 1867. The last dividend declared on the quinquennial plan reduced the premiums in some cases more than 50 per cent., or double the policy during the next dividend period. It is believed for the future that no Company in this country will be able to present greater advantages in its dividends to persons assuring than this Society, as its total expenditure to cash premium received was, by the last New York Insurance Report, less than that of any of the older American Life Insurance Companies.—(*See Superintendent Barnes' Annual Report, 1865.*)

The new business of this Society for the past year (**\$13,623,900**) exceeds the new business of any New York Company in any previous year.—(*See Superintendent Barnes' Annual Report, 1865.*)

Hereafter dividends on the First Annual Premium may be used as Cash in the payment of the Second Annual Premium, and so on thereafter, the dividend on each premium may be applied to the payment of the next succeeding premium. Policy-holders in most other Companies **MUST WAIT FOUR OR FIVE YEARS** before any advantage can be derived from dividends.

The success of this Society has not been equalled by any Company, either in this country or Europe, the Society's cash accumulation being over **ONE MILLION OF DOLLARS** greater than the most successful Company at the same period in its history, and its annual cash revenue from premiums, at the end of its sixth year, was greater than that of the largest Company in the country, at the end of its fifteenth.

NON-FORFEITURE OF PREMIUMS.—In the case of whole life and endowment policies at ordinary ages in force for at least three years, the Society will, on due surrender, issue a Paid-up Policy for the full amount of premiums paid.

The Company will issue policies on a single life to the extent of \$25,000, but only in cases where the physical condition and family history of the applicant are entirely unexceptionable.

Permission is given at all times to visit Europe free of charge.

Extra Permits granted at moderate rates.

WILLIAM C. ALEXANDER, President.
HENRY B. HYDE, Vice-President.
GEORGE W. PHILLIPS, Actuary.
HENRY DAY, Attorney.
DANIEL LORD, Counsel.
E. W. LAMBERT, M. D., Medical Examiner.
WILLARD PARKER, M. D., Consulting Physician.

NEW YORK, February 3, 1866.

LAW SCHOOL

OF THE

University of Albany.

This School has now THREE TERMS A YEAR. THE FIRST commences on the FIRST TUESDAY of September, the SECOND on the LAST TUESDAY of November, and the THIRD on the FIRST TUESDAY of March, each term continuing twelve weeks.

Three successive terms constitute the entire course, and entitle the student to become a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Laws. Each term is independent and complete as to the instruction embraced in it. The method of teaching is by lecture, examination, and practice in the Moot Courts. Two lectures are given each day except Saturdays, and two Moot Courts held each week, at which causes are first argued by the previously appointed disputants, then discussed and decided by the class, followed by the views of the presiding Professor. The law is taught both as a Science and an Art.

The immense *Law Library of the State* is open to the students, under proper regulations, and all the terms of the *Supreme Court* and the *Court of Appeals*, the highest Courts of this State, are held in the City of Albany.

The Fee for a single term is \$10, for two terms, \$70, and for three, \$100, each payable in advance. The Professors, and leading topics upon which they lecture, are the following:

HON. IRA HARRIS, LL.D., Practice, Pleadings, Evidence.

HON. AMASA J. PARKER, LL.D., Real Estate, Criminal Law, Personal Rights.

AMOS DEAN, LL.D., Personal Property, Contract, Commercial Law.

Circulars obtained by addressing AMOS DEAN, Albany, N. Y.

HON. REUBEN H. WALWORTH, LL.D., *President*.

ORLANDO MEADS, LL.D., *Secretary*.

PURELY MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE.

NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE CO.

ESTABLISHED 1845.

Home Office, 112 & 114 Broadway, New York.

ASSETS, \$5,000,000—SECURELY INVESTED.


There is nothing in the Company's record which indicates any want of security to the security of a well-established and prudently managed Life Insurance Company.—*Dr. Morgan*.



Fig.—A Policy of Life Insurance is always an evidence of prudent forethought, and no man with a deep interest in his family is free from remarking that it is not insured by the *London Assurance*, the *Charitable of England*.

This is one of the OLDEST, SAFEST, and most SUCCESSFUL Life Insurance Companies in the United States, and offers advantages *not excelled*, and, in some respects, *not equalled*, by any other. It has paid to widows and orphans of the assured **Three Millions Five Hundred Thousand Dollars**. Its Trustees in New York city are of the very first and most reliable names.

It is STRICTLY MUTUAL, the policy holders receiving the entire profits.

 Special care in the selections of its risks—strict economy—and a safe and judicious investment of its funds—**emphatically characterize the management of this Company.**

Premiums received QUARTERLY, SEMI-ANNUALLY, or ANNUALLY, at the option of the assured. Policies issued in all the various forms of WHOLE LIFE, SHORT TERM, ENDOWMENT, ANNUITY, &c.

DIVIDENDS DECLARED ANNUALLY (for 1864 and 1865, each 50 per cent.)

The mortality among its members has been *proportionately less* than that of any other Life Insurance Company in America—a result consequent on a most careful and judicious selection of lives, and one of great importance to policy-holders.

It offers to the assured *the most abundant security in a large accumulated fund, amounting now to over*

FIVE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

It accommodates its members in the settlement of their premiums, by granting, when desired, a credit at once on account of future dividends, thus furnishing insurance for *nearly double the amount* for about the SAME CASH PAYMENT as is required in an "all cash company."

Its annual income, exclusive of interest on investments, **now exceeds TWO AND A HALF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.**

The following is a summary of the Company's business for the year 1865:

Number of Policies issued.....	5,138.
Insuring the sum of	\$16,324,888.
Received for Premiums and Interest.....	\$2,342,820 40
Losses, Expenses, and Dividends paid.....	1,118 901 25
Balance in favor of Policy Holders.....	\$1,223 919 15
Total Assets, January 1 1865.....	\$4,881,919 70

THE NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE CO.

Originated and introduced the *New Feature*, known as

THE NON-FORFEITURE PLAN,

which is rapidly superseding the old system of life-long payments, and has revolutionized the system of Life Insurance in the United States. It has received the unqualified approval of the best business men in the land, large numbers of whom have taken out policies under it, purely as an investment.

A new schedule of rates has been adopted, under which the insurer may cease paying at any time without forfeiture of past payments; and at the

END OF TEN YEARS ALL PAYMENTS CEASE ENTIRELY,

and the policy thenceforward becomes a source of income to him. To secure this result, the annual rate of insurance must, of course, be somewhat higher. But almost any person in active business would greatly prefer paying a higher rate for a limited time, and be done with it, to incurring a life-long obligation, however small.

By the table on which this class of policies is based, a person incurs no risk in taking out a policy. Insuring to-day for \$5,000, if he dies to-morrow, the \$5,000 immediately becomes a claim; and if he lives ten years, and makes ten annual payments, his policy is paid up—nothing more to pay, and still his dividends *continue*, making

HIS LIFE POLICY

A SOURCE OF INCOME TO HIM WHILE LIVING.

The only weighty argument offered against Life Insurance is that a party might pay in a number of years, and then, by inadvertence, inability, &c., be unable to continue paying, thereby losing all he had paid. The "New York Life" have obviated this objection by their

TEN YEAR NON-FORFEITURE PLAN.

A party, by this table, after the second year,

CANNOT FORFEIT ANY PART OF WHAT HAS BEEN PAID IN.

Thus, if one insuring by this plan for \$10,000 discontinues after the second year, he is entitled to a PAID-UP POLICY, according to the number of years paid in, viz.:

Second year, two-tenths of \$10,000 (am't ins'd), amount'g to \$2,000, with dividend on same for life,					
Third year, three-tenths of " " " " " " " " " " " "	3,000,	"	"	"	"
Fourth year, four-tenths of " " " " " " " " " " " "	4,000,	"	"	"	"
Fifth year, five-tenths of " " " " " " " " " " " "	5,000,	"	"	"	"

And so on, until the tenth annual payment, when all is paid, and dividends still continue during the life-time of the assured.

☞ This feature, among others, has given to this Company a success unparalleled in the history of Life Insurance.

A credit or advance of twenty per cent. on account of dividends is given on this table if desired, at the current New York rate of interest.

There has been paid to the widows and orphans of members of this Company an aggregate sum exceeding \$3,500,000.

The dividends paid (return premiums) exceed \$1,700,000.

MORRIS FRANKLIN, President.

ISAAC C. KENDALL, Vice-President.

WILLIAM H. BEERS, Actuary.

TRUSTEES.

MORRIS FRANKLIN,	WM. C. DUSENBERY,	ISAAC C. KENDALL,	WM. B. APPLETON,
JOHN M. NIXON,	JOHN E. WILLIAMS,	JOHN L. ROGERS,	ROBERT B. COLLINS,
DAVID DOWS,	HENRY K. BOGERT,	JOHN MAIRS,	DUDLEY B. FULLER,
DANIEL S. MILLER,	THOMAS SMULL,	RUSSELL DART,	WM. A. BOOTH,
WILLIAM BARTON,	SANFORD COLB,	GEORGE A. OSGOOD,	JAS. G. KING.

☞ Parties applying for policies, or desirous of correcting themselves with the Company, as Agents, will please address either personally or by letter, THE HOME OFFICE, 112 and 114 Broadway.

MANHATTAN COLLEGE,

(CHRISTIAN BROTHERS,)

MANHATTANVILLE, NEW YORK.

This institution, incorporated and empowered to confer Degrees by the Regents of the University of the State of New York, offers many advantages to further the moral, intellectual, and physical development of students. The situation of the College is not surpassed in landscape beauty, or salubrity, by that of any similar institution in the country. It occupies an elevated position on the east bank of the Hudson, beside the village of Manhattanville, about eight miles from New York city.

Its object is to afford the youth of our country the means of acquiring the highest grade of education attained in the best American universities or colleges. While its conductors mean that the classic languages shall be thoroughly studied, they have resolved to give a prominence to the higher mathematics and natural sciences not hitherto received in any similar institution in this country ; thus combining the advantages of a first-class College and Polytechnic Institute.

Before receiving any degree, the classical student will be required not only to be able to translate with facility any classic author, whether Greek or Latin, whose style he has studied ; he must also be able to express his ideas orally as well as in writing, with more or less fluency, at least in the latter language ; whereas the mathematical student seeking similar distinction must extend his scientific knowledge so as to embrace the differential and integral calculus, together with astronomy, chemistry, &c.

The Faculty believe that neither the classics nor the mathematics claim more earnest attention, in order to constitute a sound and practical education, than the vernacular language

and literature, and accordingly their study is never intermitted at this institution, but is continued throughout the whole course, in every form which has received the approval of the most experienced and successful educators.

Besides being carefully instructed in the analytical principles of the language, every student is required not only to take part in oral discussions on rhetoric, logic, moral philosophy, &c., but he must also write English essays on various subjects, which are, in turn, subjected to the criticisms of the whole class, as well as to those of the Professor having charge of that department.

Although the regular preparatory schools of the college are the De La Salle Institute, 46 Second street, and Manhattan Academy, 127 West Thirty-second street, New York, another has been established at the college for the benefit of those who wish to send their children to the institution at an early age.

TERMS:

Board, Washing, and Tuition, per Session of ten months	\$300
Entrance Fee	10
Graduation Fee	10
Vacation at College	40

German, Spanish, Drawing, Music, and use of apparatus in the study of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, charged extra. School books at current prices.

No student received for a shorter period than one term of five months—no deductions made when withdrawn during the term. The pocket-money of the student is deposited with the treasure.

Payment of half Session of five months in advance.

The sessions commence on the first Monday in September and end about the 3d of July.

A public examination of the students is held at the end of the session, and gentlemen are invited to examine them then, and also during the class hours of term time.

For particulars see Catalogue.

DIVIDEND.
SAFEST AND CHEAPEST SYSTEM
OF INSURANCE.

STATEMENT OF THE
Washington Insurance Company,
 172 Broadway, cor. Maiden Lane.
 NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 2, 1866.

CASH CAPITAL - - - - \$400,000

ASSETS, FEBRUARY 1, 1866.

U. S. and State Bonds (market value).....	\$266,753 00
Bonds and Mortgages.....	129,245 50
Demand Loans.....	191,666 72
Cash on hand and in the hands of Agents,	40,588 91
Unpaid Premiums.....	38,780 01
Miscellaneous	47,988 93

		\$715,023 07
Unsettled Losses - - - - -		34,223 07
Capital and Surplus - - - - -		\$680,800 00

A DIVIDEND OF (6) SIX PER CENT. is this day declared, payable on demand, in CASH, to Stockholders.

ALSO, AN INTEREST DIVIDEND OF (6) SIX PER CENT. on outstanding Scrip, payable 15th March, in CASH.

ALSO, A SCRIP DIVIDEND OF (20) TWENTY PER CENT. on the Earned Premiums of Policies entitled to participate in the profits for the year ending 31st January, 1866. The Scrip will be ready for delivery on and after 15th March prox.

GEO. C. SATTERLEE, President.

HENRY WESTON, Vice-President.

WM. K. LOTHROP, Secretary.

WM. A. SCOTT, Assistant Secretary.

LIST OF BOOKS

PUBLISHED BY

M. DOOLADY,

448 BROOME STREET, NEW YORK.

A HISTORY OF THE GIPSIES: with specimens of the Gipsy Language. By WALTER SIMSON. 575 pages. Price \$3. Edited with Preface, Introduction, and Notes, and a Disquisition on the Past, Present, and Future of Gipsydom. By JAMES SIMSON.

ONLY A WOMAN'S HEART. A Novel. By ADA CLARK. One volume, 12mo. Price \$1.75.

ROEBUCK. A Confederate Novel of great power, which is bound to have a large sale. One volume, 12mo. Price \$1.75.

JANUARY AND JUNE. By BENJAMIN F. TAYLOR. One volume, cloth. Price \$1.25.

THE MORRISONS. A story of Domestic Life. By MRS. MARGARET HOSMER. One volume, 12mo cloth. Price \$1.75.

A new book in Press, by the author of "The Morrisons."

THE MERCHANT MECHANIC. A Tale of New England Athens. By MRS. MARY A. HOWE. One volume, 12mo. Cloth. Price \$1.50.

A WOMAN'S THOUGHTS ABOUT WOMEN. By the author of JOHN HALIFAX, &c. One volume, 12 mo. Price \$1.50.

THREE MONTHS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES. April, May and June, 1863. By LIEUTENANT COLONEL FOREMANTLE. One volume, 12mo. Price \$1.50.

CATLIN'S BREATH OF LIFE. The Breath of Life; or Mal-Respiration, and its effects upon the Life of Man. By Geo. Catlin, author of "Notes and Travels amongst the North American Indians." With numerous Illustrations. Price 50c.

THE COLLEGE LIBRARY. Three volumes in a box. Price \$4.

OLD JACK AND HIS FOOT CAVALRY. Being the best Life of Stonewall Jackson. One volume cloth. Price \$1.50.

PUBLISHED BY

M. DOOLADY

448 Broome St., New York.

JUST PUBLISHED.

A MANUAL FOR THE SICK,

WITH A PREFACE BY THE REV. MORGAN DIX, D.D.

This manual, though brief, contains much that will profit the docile learner in the school of God's discipline.

12mo. 60 pages, large type, price in muslin, 40 cents; red edges, 50 cents.

RECENTLY ISSUED.

RESCUED FROM EGYPT.—By. A. L. O. E. \$1.50

The Churchman's Calendar, for 1866.

Designed to exhibit an actual view of the condition of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church in all the world.

No. VI. Price 30 cents.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES.—A new Catechism for Sunday-schools, by Mrs. Weston, author of Calvary Catechism, Catechism on the Church, &c 20 cents.

A PREPARATION FOR COMMUNION.—By the Rev. J. T. Wheat, D.D. Muslin, 60 cents; red edges, 70 cents.

THE GENERAL

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL S. S. UNION

AND

CHURCH BOOK SOCIETY

Now publish about 650 choice Illustrated Books, which, with its Secondary Catalogue of "Books allowed for sale," makes a list of about 1000 volumes suitable for the Sunday-school and Parish Library.

The Society also publishes Catechisms, Scripture Reading Lessons, Primers, Class Books, Registers, Reward Tickets and Cards, Tracts, Books of Family and Private Devotion, and every requisite for organizing and conducting the largest Sunday-schools.

Address orders and remittances to

E. M. DUNCAN, Agent,
762 Broadway, New York.

Georgetown College, D. C.

IN the year 1785, several gentlemen—the principal of whom was the Rev. JOHN CARROLL, afterward the first Archbishop of Baltimore—formed the design of establishing “An Academy at Georgetown, *Potomac River, Maryland.*” In 1789 the first house was built; in 1792 the schools commenced, and in 1798 it was designated as “The College of Georgetown, Potomac River, State of Maryland.” In May, 1815, Congress raised it to the rank of an University.

In May, 1815, “The Medical Department of Georgetown College” was opened in Washington city, D. C.

The College is situated on the northern bank of the Potomac, and commands a full view of Georgetown, Washington, the Potomac, and a great part of the District of Columbia. Its situation is peculiarly healthy.

The academic year commences on the first Monday of September, and ends in the first week of July. The collegiate course, including the preparatory classes, which last three years, occupies seven years, unless the proficiency of the student authorize an abbreviation of the term.

TERMS PER ANNUM:

For board, tuition, washing, etc., payable half-yearly				
in advance	-	-	-	\$325 00
Doctor's fee	-	-	-	10 00

For further information apply to the President,

B. A. MACUIRE, S. J.

THE
National Life Insurance Company
 OF
NEW YORK,
 NO. 212 BROADWAY
 CORNER OF FULTON STREET. (KNOX BUILDING.)

—♦♦—
\$100,000

IN Cash deposited at Albany for the security of Policy-holders.

—♦♦—
 REASONS FOR INSURING
 IN THE

NATIONAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

All Policies non-forfeiting.

It is the only Company in the world where a premium can be paid semi-annually or quarterly without paying interest on the deferred premium.

Thirty days' grace allowed in payment of premiums.

All Policies incontestable after five years.

Note taken for one-half the Annual Premium when it is more than Forty Dollars.

—♦♦—
BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

S. M. BEARD,	WM. E. PRINCE,	E. A. JONES,	JOSEPH WILDE,
S. C. HERRING,	T. B. VAN BUREN,	H. J. RAYMOND,	CHARLES CURTIS,
HENRY CLEWS,	S. TEATS, M.D.,	J. C. DIMMICK,	A. WRIGHT, M. D.,
J. A. ISLIN,	S. J. GLASSEY,	J. R. DOW,	N. E. SMITH, D. D.,
S. T. TRUSLOW,	ELI BEARD,	HOWELL SMITH,	WATSON SANFORD,
ROBERT CROWLEY,	HECTOR TOULMIN,	F. H. LUMMUS,	W. J. WORTHINGTON,
WILLIAM COIT,	W. A. CUMMINGS,	H. P. FREEMAN,	O. M. PEACH,

EDWARD A. JONES, President.
WM. E. PRINCE, Vice-President.
JONATHAN O. HALSEY, Secretary.

HIRAM B. WHITE, M.D., Medical Examiner,

Residence No. 5 Greene avenue, near Fulton avenue, Brooklyn.

AT OFFICE DAILY FROM 2 TO 3 O'CLOCK, P.M.

COLLEGE

OF THE

HOLY CROSS,

WORCESTER, MASS.

This College was founded by the Rt. Rev. BENEDICT JOSEPH FEWICK, Bishop of Boston, in the year 1843, and by him given to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. The location is remarkably healthy. Ninety six acres of land are attached to the College. It stands on Hogabog, or Hill of Pleasant Springs, within two miles of the city of Worcester, and commands an extensive view of the beautiful country around. The water is abundant and of the first quality, the play-grounds are spacious, and afford facilities for healthful amusements at all seasons.

After the usual course of Arithmetic and Book keeping, the Students, according to their proficiency and capacity, are placed in different classes of Mathematics.

There are three classes of French, in which the Students are distributed according to their abilities.

There are two semi annual examinations. If, at the first examination, any one can be found to have sufficiently improved, he is promoted to a higher class. Such promotion will be equivalent to the honors of the class left.

Candidates for the degree of *Bachelor of Arts*, are required to undergo an examination in Intellectual, Moral and Natural Philosophy, before the Faculty of the College. *They must, besides have pursued the regular classical course.*

Careful attention is bestowed on the religious and moral training of the Students, who, even in hours of recreation, are under the special superintendence of Prefects or Disciplinarymen.

Books, Papers, Periodicals, &c., are not allowed circulation among the Students without having been previously revised by one of the Faculty.

Whilst the moral and intellectual culture of the youths committed to our care is attended to with all assiduity, their physical development is by no means neglected. A Ball Alley and Gymnasium occupy a portion of the ordinary play-grounds; the numerous hills and lakes in the vicinity afford, during the winter months, every opportunity for skating and coasting. The Blackstone River, which runs within a few hundred yards of the College, offers safe and delightful bathing places. The Farm attached presents ample range for the indulgence of Foot Ball and Cricket games, at their proper seasons. These innocent amusements, added to the healthfulness of the climate and location, work wonders in our Students, many of whom enter with pale cheeks, and sickly frames, but invariably depart in buoyant spirits and flushed with health.

Each Student must be supplied, with, at least, two suits of daily wear, and one for Sundays; six shirts, six pairs of stockings, six pocket handkerchiefs, six towels, two or three cravats, &c., two or three pairs of boots or shoes, an overcoat or cloak. Each Student must be provided with a silver tablespoon, marked with his name.

Reports will be sent to Parents or Guardians, to inform them of the application, conduct, and progress of their Sons or Wards. Also, regular accounts, *in advance*, for Board and Tuition. It is earnestly requested that immediate remittances be made, to the full amount.

The Collegiate year commences on the first Monday of September, but students are received at any period of the year. Applicants from other Institutions will not be received without testimonials as to character and conduct, from the principal of the Institution which they last attended.

The object of the Institution is to prepare youths for a *Professional* or for a *Commercial* state.

TERMS:

For board, tuition, washing, and mending linen and stockings, per annum (of ten months), payable half yearly in advance.....	\$200 00
For Physician's Fee, per annum.....	5 00
Fuel for the winter.....	5 00
Modern Languages and Music at the Professors' charges.	
For further particulars, address	

JAMES CLARK, S. J., President.

THE
Mercantile Mutual Insurance Co.,

OFFICE, No. 35 WALL STREET,
 NEW YORK.

Assets, January 1, 1866, - - - - - \$1,366,699

Organized April, 1844.

The Company has paid to its Customers, up to the present time, Losses amounting to over

EIGHTEEN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

For the past nine years the cash dividends paid to Stockholders, made from ONE-THIRD of the net profits, have amounted in the aggregate to

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-ONE AND A HALF PER CENT.

Instead of issuing a scrip dividend to dealers, based on the principle that all classes of risks are equally profitable, this Company will hereafter make such cash abatement or discount from the current rates, when premiums are paid, as the general experience of underwriters will warrant, and the net profits remaining at the close of the year, will be divided to the Stockholders.

This Company continues to make insurance on Marine and Inland Navigation and Transportation Risks, on the most favorable terms, including Risks on Merchandise of all kinds, Hulls, and Freight.

Policies issued making loss payable in Gold or Currency, at the office in New York, or in Sterling, at the office of Rathbone, Bros. & Co., in Liverpool.

TRUSTEES.

Joseph Walker,
 James Freedland,
 Samuel Willets,
 Robert L. Taylor,
 William T. Frost,
 William Watt,
 Henry Eyre,

Cornelius Grinnell,
 E. E. Morgan,
 Hor. A. Schleicher,
 Joseph Stagg,
 Jas. D. Fish,
 Geo. W. Hennings,
 Francis Hathaway,

Aaron L. Reid,
 Ellwood Walter,
 D. Colden Murray,
 E. Baydock White,
 N. L. McCready,
 Daniel T. Willets,
 L. Edgerton,

Henry R. Kunhardt,
 John S. Williams,
 William Nelson, Jr.,
 Charles Dimon,
 A. William Heye,
 Harold Bollner,
 Paul N. Spofford

ELLWOOD WALTER, President.
CHAS. NEWCOMB Vice-President.

C. J. DESPARD, Secretary.

THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XXV.

JUNE, 1866.

- ART. I.—1. *Life of Socrates*. By Dr. G. WIGGERS. (*Sokrates, als Mensch, als Bürger und als Philosoph*) 8vo. London.
2. *The Apology of Socrates: the Crito and Part of the Phædo*, with Notes from Stallbaum, and Schleiermacher's Introductions. 12mo. London.
3. *Initia Philosophiæ Platoniciæ*. P. VAN HEUSDE. 8vo.
4. *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*. By K. O. MUELLER. London.
5. *Opera Platonis, Græce et Latine*. Paris: Didot.
6. *Xenophontis Scripta quæ supersunt Græce et Latine*. Paris: Didot.
7. *The Clouds of Aristophanes* (*Ἀριστοφάνους Νεφέλαι*), with Notes Critical and Explanatory. By T. MITCHELL, A.M. London.
8. *Geschichte der Philosophie (History of Philosophy)*. Von Dr. HEINRICH RITTER. Hamburg.

It is a sad commentary on the boasted reason and wisdom of mankind that they treat none worse than their greatest benefactors. This strange caprice has not been confined to any age or country; memorable examples of it have been furnished by Jews, Greeks, and Scythians alike, and by Christians as well as Pagans. But next to Jesus Christ its most illustrious victim has been Socrates, than whom a better or wiser man has never lived; nor has any man lived to whom true philosophy owes more, or who has contributed more to the development of the human mind.

It is not strange, then, that the greatest thinkers of all ages and countries have mourned his execution as a disgrace to humanity, and that men like Cicero have confessed that

they could never read his story without shedding tears.* Yet few were born with gloomier prospects than Socrates. His father, Sophroniscus, was but a poor village statuary, who was not able to support his family without the aid of his wife Phænarete, who had to earn what she could as a midwife. Both parents were, however, honest and industrious; and if they could not give him money or value to pay for his education, they at least gave him good advice and kind treatment; the rest he did himself. From his earliest youth he gave evidence of superior intellect, but he did not devote himself the less assiduously on this account to the humble trade of his father; and we are told, so well did he succeed, that his statues of the Graces were honored with a place in the citadel of Athens.

Another proof of his success is to be found in the fact that his aid enabled his father to accumulate some money, so that at his death he left the future philosopher eighty minæ, a sum equal to about fifteen hundred dollars. This, though small, would have been considerable to one so frugal as Socrates, but through the dishonesty of a relative in whose hands it had been left he lost all. He had now nothing but his daily labor as a statuary; and this was a business which, it seems, was badly paid at the time, for it must not be confounded with the more aristocratic and remunerative art of the sculptor, which had just then obtained such lustre under the fostering care of Pericles.

But if Socrates had only been taught to prepare the figures in outline for artists like Phidias, he was not the less careful to spare a portion of his earnings to pay for instructions in science and philosophy. For a time he could only attend the humblest schools; but Crito, a wealthy Athenian, had the perception to see that he was no ordinary youth, and the generosity to give him whatever pecuniary aid was necessary to secure the assistance of a good teacher. Thus encouraged, Socrates did not hesitate to place himself under the tuition of Anaxagoras, one of the greatest philosophers of his time; and soon after his patron enabled him to receive tuition from several other eminent educators. From Theodorus he received lessons in geometry, from Prodicus lessons in eloquence, from Evenus lessons in poetry, and from Damon lessons in music; and at the same time he commenced

* "Quid d'eum de Socrate? cujus illachrymare solo Platonem legens."—Cic., *De Nat. Deor.*, lib. viii.

to attend the public lectures of the representative philosophers of different schools. In short, wherever knowledge was to be had Socrates sought it with avidity, and from women as well as men. Nor was he ashamed to confess subsequently, when surrounded by such of his pupils as Plato and Xenophon, that scarcely any of his preceptors gave him more important aid in his education than Aspasia, a woman celebrated alike for her intellectual accomplishments and her personal charms, and whom Pericles honored so much that he married her when at the pinnacle of his glory.

By the wonderful progress which he made in all the learning of his time, Socrates showed in a few brief years that no one need be discouraged from the pursuit of knowledge by poverty. He also refuted the allegation that learning has a tendency to destroy physical courage, for none fought more bravely than he when his country needed his services in the field. He distinguished himself particularly at the siege of Potidæa, during the long and painful struggle between Athens and Sparta, both by his bravery and intrepidity, and the patience with which he endured the severest hardships; while none fought better, he walked bare-footed on the ice with only his usual clothing, though even the hardy Spartans found it necessary to clothe themselves with furs. And we have evidence in many forms that it was not for fame he signalized himself in this manner; but suffice it to refer to one or two illustrative facts. We are informed by Thucydides that, seeing his pupil Alcibiades fall wounded in battle, he forced his way to his defence and saved both himself and his arms. This justly entitled him to the prize of valor, and he would have received it accordingly, but he begged of the judges to give it to his young friend. On a subsequent occasion he saved Xenophon in a manner equally chivalrous. After the Athenians had been defeated at the battle of Delium, Socrates was retiring from the field as coolly as if he had been returning from one of the lectures of Anaxagoras, when he happened to observe Xenophon lying wounded on the ground; he returned at once, took him on his shoulders, and brought him beyond the reach of his enemies.

Still more manly and honorable, if possible, was the political conduct of Socrates. A man of his influence need never be without an important office in Athens; but he never consented to accept one until he was sixty years old.

He was then elected to represent his own district in the Senate of Five Hundred. No senator was more active than he; but he never cast a vote which was not on the side of justice and humanity. Not a single law or decree which was discreditable to Athens, or the design of which was to deprive any one of his rights without sufficient cause, which he did not strenuously oppose. While the majority of the senate trembled at the clamors of the people for the condemnation of the Athenian generals who conquered at the Arginusæ—the only charge against them being that they had not time to bury their dead after the victory—Socrates remained firm to the last, warning both his colleagues and the people that the disgrace of such an act, to so enlightened a state as Athens, could never be wiped out.

This created him many enemies, and undoubtedly had its influence on his own fate some ten years later. The sophists, whose charlatanism he persistently exposed and ridiculed for many years, were glad of an opportunity to show the superstitious people that he had no respect for their religion, no faith in their gods; although the only ground upon which they could say so was that, by his conduct in attempting to save the lives of the generals who had fought so well and so successfully for their country, he proved that he was not a believer in the time-honored dogma that the souls of the dead were always wandering until they received the honors of sepulture. During the sway of the Thirty Tyrants, a reign of terror scarcely less atrocious than that of the time of Robespierre and Danton, Socrates never ceased to vindicate the rights of his fellow-citizens, although well aware that he was doing so at the peril of his life.

Nor were the tyrants unmindful of the course he thus pursued, but even they were unwilling to lay violent hands on one whose patriotism and virtue were known to all; they preferred to excite the prejudices of the people against him, by showing that, while he preached obedience to others, he openly practised disobedience himself. It was with this view they ordered him with others to arrest Leon, a wealthy citizen of Salamis. The others did as they were told, but Socrates refused, telling the tyrants that he would rather suffer death himself than be instrumental in inflicting it unjustly upon others. The fact that even then they thought it expedient not to punish him is sufficient evidence of the high esteem in which he was held by the public at large, although it is beyond question that his peculiar system of teaching made

him numerous enemies. Their caution in this case shows that, bad as the Thirty Tyrants were, they were more thoughtful than the people, who subsequently, when they got the power back into their own hands, condemned him to death and executed him.

Although we have merely alluded to the means of education possessed by Socrates, and the avidity and perseverance with which he availed himself of those means, we think we have said enough to satisfy even those who have read neither Xenophon nor Plato, that there is no reason to doubt the superior wisdom for which he has got credit from the best judges of all nations for more than two thousand years. But we do not speak of this wisdom as a mere matter of wonder, wonderful as it really is, and would have been in any age or country, in modern as well as in ancient times; we speak of it for the good it has done and is still doing, and for the aid that it affords in removing prejudices and discouraging that vanity which is the most serious obstacle to intellectual progress. None esteem more highly than we what modern thinkers have done; none more admire those thinkers themselves. But it is by no means necessary to their glory that they should get the credit of what others had taught before them. Thus, for example, we yield to none in our estimate of the writings of Bacon; we would have all read them carefully, feeling convinced that none could do so without profit. But it is quite another thing to agree with the multitude who give him the credit of having invented the inductive system. This we reject because it is not true; even had the works of Plato and Xenophon been destroyed before our era, there would still have remained in the works of other great authors abundant evidence that Socrates was a perfect master of the inductive system of reasoning. Nay, there is more of the genuine inductive philosophy in one of his dialogues, as reported by Plato, than there is in the whole *Novum Organum*. Bacon himself knew well how much he owed to Socrates, but he did not wish others to be equally wise, and accordingly he only makes a few casual allusions to his teachings. Even when he does speak of Socrates, it is only in connection with a "notion" or a "saying" of his.* He has evinced much more willingness to speak of Aristotle, whose system is altogether different from that of Socrates. Aristotle was not inductive in the Baconian sense, but

* See Bacon's Works, London quarto edition, vol. i, pp. 189, 534.

Socrates and most of his disciples were.* Hence the different points of view in which they are contemplated by both the author of the *Novum Organum* and his eulogists, in short, by all that numerous class who think that the wisest and most profound of the ancients were but mere smatterers in knowledge compared to the moderns.

We will now remind our readers of the opinions of Xenophon, Plato, and other illustrious thinkers of their time, in regard both to the intellectual and moral qualities of Socrates. If these were not competent judges, there were none in their day; that is, in the golden age of Pericles, Thucydides, Sophocles, Phidias, and Aristotle. But before we take any particular notice of the trial and condemnation of Socrates, let us see what he had been doing before the fatal charge was made against him; and while enlightening ourselves on this point, we shall be able to form a pretty correct opinion as to the peculiar style of reasoning used by Socrates, and determine whether it was the inductive or the syllogistic. It is recorded by Xenophon that one day two citizens of Athens, who were returning from the temple of Minerva, happened to meet Socrates in the public square. One said to the other: "Is not that the rascal who says that one may be virtuous without sacrificing either sheep or geese to the gods?" "Yes," said the other, "that is the atheist who says there is but one God." Socrates approached them with his simple unpretending air. "My friends," said he, "one word, if you please. What would you call a man who prays to God, who adores him, who seeks to resemble him

* Much as Aristotle differed from Plato and his great master, he did not deny how much philosophy owed to the latter.

"There are two things," says the Stagirite, "which may be justly looked upon as steps in philosophy, due to Socrates: INDUCTIVE REASONINGS and UNIVERSAL DEFINITIONS: both of them steps which belong to the foundations of science." This will be found in the twelfth book and fourth chapter of Aristotle's *Metaphysics*; and for the satisfaction of those who think there was no inductive reasoning before Bacon's time we subjoin the original: "δύο γὰρ ἔστιν αἱ τῆς ἀν' ἀποδείῃ Σωκράτει δικαιοῦς, τοὺς τ' ἐπακτικοὺς λόγους καὶ τὸ ὀρίεσθαι καθόλου· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔστιν ἀμφω περὶ ἀρχὴν ἐπίστημης."

In discussing the relative merits of the different kinds of reasoning in use in his time, Quintillian says: "Indeed, the mode of argument which Socrates chiefly used was of this nature; for when he had asked a number of questions, to which his adversary was obliged to reply in the affirmative, he at last inferred one point about which the question was raised, and to which his antagonist had already admitted something similar; this method was *inductum*." This was written many centuries before Bacon was born, and be it remembered that induction is the very term used in the original: "Nam illa, qua plurimum est Socrates usus, hanc habuit viam: quum plura interrogasset quæ fieri adversario necesse esset, novissime id, de quo quærebatur inferebat, cui simile concessisset. *Id est INDUCTIO*."—*Inst. Orator.*, lib. v., c. 11.

as much as human weakness can do, and who does all the good in his power?" "A very religious soul," said they. "Very well; we may, therefore, adore the Supreme Being, and have religion?" "Granted," said the two Athenians. "But do you believe," pursued Socrates, "that, when the Divine Architect of the universe arranged all the globes which roll over our heads, when he gave motion and life to so many different beings, he made use of the arm of Hercules, the lyre of Apollo, or the flute of Pan?" "It is not probable," said they. "But if it is not likely that he called in the aid of others to construct that which we see, it is not probable that he preserves it through others rather than through himself. If Neptune was the absolute master of the sea, Juno of the air, Æolus of the wind, Ceres of harvests, and one would have a calm when the other would have rain, you feel clearly that the order of nature could not exist as it is. You will confess that all depends upon Him who has made all. You give four white horses to the sun, and four black ones to the moon; but is it not more likely that day and night are the effect of the motion given to the stars by their Master than that they were produced by eight horses?" The two citizens looked at him, but answered nothing. This was the general result of the reasoning of Socrates. In nine cases out of ten he convinced even those whom his arguments made his enemies, because they could not endure the truth in regard to their follies or their crimes.

But on no subjects does the philosopher reason more persuasively than in proof of the immortality of the soul and against suicide. To these subjects he frequently recurs, and he always treats them much more like a Christian than a Pagan. Indeed, those Christians who have been most successful in treating them owe much more to him for their success than the most candid of them would care to acknowledge, if they were even aware of the fact. And the same observation will apply to his arguments against atheism; those, for example, who first read Paley's *Natural Theology*, and then turn to the reasoning of Socrates in Plato on the same subject, will be surprised to see how little that is new is in the former after all, excellent as it undoubtedly is. Let the following extract serve as an example:

"But it is evidently apparent that He, who at the beginning made man, endowed him with senses because they were good for him; eyes, wherewith to behold whatever was visible; and ears, to hear whatever

was to be heard. For, say, Aristodemus, to what purpose should odors be prepared if the sense of smelling had been denied? or why the distinctions of bitter and sweet, of savory and unsavory, unless a palate had been likewise given, conveniently placed, to arbitrate between them, and declare the difference? Is not that Providence, in a most eminent manner, conspicuous, which, because the eye of man is so delicate in its contexture, hath, therefore, prepared eyelids like doors, whereby to serve it; which extend of themselves whenever it is needful, and again close when sleep approaches? Are not these eyelids provided, as it were, with a fence on the edge of them, to keep off the wind and guard the eye? Even the eyebrow itself is not without its office, but, as a pent-house, is prepared to turn off the sweat, which, falling from the forehead, might enter and annoy that no less tender than astonishing part of us. Is it not to be admired that the ears should take in sounds of every sort, and yet be not too much filled by them? That the fore-teeth of the animal should be formed in such a manner as is evidently best suited for the cutting of its food, as those on the side for grinding it to pieces? That the mouth, through which this food is conveyed, should be placed so near the nose and eyes as to prevent the passing unnoticed whatever is unfit for nourishment; while nature, on the contrary, hath set at a distance, and concealed from the senses, all that might disgust or any way offend them? And canst thou still doubt, Aristodemus, whether a disposition of parts like this should be the work of chance, or of wisdom and contrivance?" "I have no longer any doubt, replied Aristodemus; "and, indeed, the more I consider it the more evident it appears to me, that man must be the masterpiece of some great Artificer; carrying along with it infinite marks of the love and favor of Him who hath thus formed it."

"And what thinkest thou, Aristodemus, of that desire in the individual which leads to the continuance of the species? Of that tenderness and affection in the female towards her young, so necessary for its preservation? Of that unremitted love of life, and dread of dissolution, which take such strong possession of us from the moment we begin to be?" "I think of them," answered Aristodemus, "as so many regular operations of the same great and wise Artist, deliberately determining to preserve what he hath made."

"But, further (unless thou desirest to ask me questions), seeing, Aristodemus, thou thyself art conscious of reason and intelligence, supposest thou there is no intelligence elsewhere? Thou knowest thy body to be a small part of that wide extended earth which thou everywhere beholdest: the moisture contained in it thou also knowest to be a small portion of that mighty mass of waters whereof seas themselves are but a part, while the rest of the elements contribute out of their abundance to thy formation. It is the soul, then, alone, that intellectual part of us, which is come to thee by some lucky chance, from I know not where. If so be, there is, indeed, no intelligence elsewhere; and we must be forced to confess that this stupendous universe, with all the various bodies contained therein, equally amazing, whether we consider their magnitude or number, whatever their use, whatever their order; all have been produced, not by intelligence, but by chance?" "It is with difficulty that I can suppose otherwise," returned Aristodemus; "for I behold none of those gods whom you speak of as making and governing all things; whereas I see the artists when at their work here among us." "Neither yet seest thou thy soul, Aristodemus, which, however, most assuredly governs thy body; although it may well seem, by thy manner of talking, that it is chance, and not reason, which governs thee?"—*Memorabilia*, book i., chap. iv.

A small fragment here and there, even of this kind, cannot give any adequate idea of the great whole; yet it contributes much to aid the reader, who has not the time or opportunity to examine the entire work, in forming an intelligent opinion. It is with this view that we give the following extract from *Phædo* in Plato, merely premising that in this part of the dialogue the interlocutors are Socrates and Cebes:

"But what do we call that which does not admit death?" "Immortal," he replied. "Therefore does not the soul admit death?" "No." "Is the soul, then, immortal?" "Immortal." "Be it so," he said. "Shall we say, then, that this has been now demonstrated? or how think you?" "Most completely, Socrates." "What then," said he, "Cebes, if it were necessary for the uneven to be imperishable, would the number three be otherwise than imperishable?" "How should it not?" "If, therefore, it were also necessary that what is without heat should be imperishable, when any one should introduce heat to snow, would not the snow withdraw itself, safe and unmelted? For it would not perish; nor yet would it stay and admit the heat." "You say truly," he replied. "In like manner, I think, if that which is insusceptible of cold were imperishable, that, when anything cold approached the fire, it would neither be extinguished nor perish, but would depart quite safe." "Of necessity," he said. "Must we not, then, of necessity," he continued, "speak thus of that which is immortal? If that which is immortal is imperishable, it is impossible for the soul to perish when death approaches it. For, from what has been said already, it will not admit death, nor will ever be dead, just as we said that three will never be even, nor again will the odd, nor will the fire be cold, nor yet the heat that is in fire. But some one may say, what hinders, though the odd can never become even by the approach of the even, as we have allowed, yet, when the odd is destroyed, that the even should succeed in its place? We could not contend with him who should make this objection, that it is not destroyed; for the uneven is not imperishable; since, if this were granted us, we might easily have contended, that on the approach of the even the odd and the three depart; and we might have contended in the same way with respect to fire, heat, and the rest; might we not?" "Certainly." "Wherefore, with respect to the immortal, if we have allowed that it is imperishable, the soul, in addition to its being immortal, must also be imperishable; if not, there will be need of other arguments." "But there is no need," he said, "as far as that is concerned; for scarcely could anything not admit of corruption, if that which is immortal and eternal is liable to it." "The Deity, indeed, I think," said Socrates, "and the idea itself of life, and if anything else is immortal, must be allowed by all things to be incapable of dissolution." "By Jupiter," he replied, "by all men indeed, and still more, as I think, by the gods." "Since, then, that which is immortal is also incorruptible, can the soul, since it is immortal, be anything else than imperishable?" "It must of necessity be so." "When, therefore, death approaches a man, the mortal part of him, as it appears, dies, but the immortal part departs safe and uncorrupted, having withdrawn itself from death."—*The Works of Plato*, vol. i., pp. 114, 115.

This reasoning seems familiar now because it is substantial that which has been adopted by the most eminent

Christian writers; but it was by no means so in the time of Socrates; and that it had a salutary effect on his countrymen, notwithstanding their cruel injustice to himself, is proved by many circumstances. But it is now time that we proceed to the consideration of the charges upon which Socrates was brought to trial and executed. In view of what has already been observed, it is hardly necessary to say that those who accused him were not actuated by either religion or patriotism, but by private malice: they were, in fact, persons who had felt the weight of the philosopher's withering satire as directed against themselves personally or against their friends. His accusers were Lycon, an obscure tragic poet, whose pernicious system of morality he had censured as it deserved, concluding his strictures by the remark that his tragedies were so stupid that fortunately few would be influenced by them; Melitus, a young rhetorician, whose rhetoric he had ridiculed; and Anytus, a leather dresser, whom he had chastised in a similar manner for his avarice in depriving his sons of the benefit of learning, in order that they might continue to earn money for him by their labor. These were his prominent accusers, but they were sustained by a host of sophists and others whose resentment he had incurred by his criticisms. The form of the indictment is still preserved; it runs thus: "Melitus, son of Melitus, of the tribe of Pythos, accuseth Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, of the tribe of Alopecce. Socrates violates the laws in not acknowledging the gods which the state acknowledges, and by introducing new divinities. He also violates the laws by corrupting the youth. Be his punishment death." This was the mode of procedure in criminal offences at Athens after the fall of the Thirty Tyrants and the restoration of the democracy. The person making the charge had a right to name the penalty, while the accused, upon the other hand, had a right to name some pecuniary fine as an equivalent to be paid in the event of his being declared guilty by the judges.

The character of the whole proceedings against Socrates is well illustrated by the fact that before the trial came on, and after the accusation had been made on oath before the Senate, Anytus sent him a private message assuring him that if he would desist from censuring him he would withdraw his accusation. The philosopher spurned the proposition with the reply, "Whilst I live I will never dis-

guise the truth, nor speak otherwise than my duty requires." It is not likely that Socrates himself had the least idea that he would be condemned, since not only was he conscious of his own innocence, but his generous disposition led him to expect good rather than evil even from his enemies. Nor does it appear that his friends took any different view of the case; from their discussions on the subject with each other and the facts that have reached us from other sources, the inference is, that although they had not much faith in the restored democracy, they found it difficult to believe that even an Athenian mob would condemn an old man like Socrates. Had it been otherwise, it is more than probable that they could easily have averted his fate; they certainly had influence enough to save him, but they did not exercise it until it was too late; they never believed, even after the sentence was passed, that it would be carried into execution until the fatal day arrived. The only chance, then, was escape from prison; his friends tried to induce him to abscond accordingly, assuring him that they would see that no obstructions would be placed in his way. But he utterly refused to save his life by any means which he thought unworthy of him; still more unhesitatingly did he reject the proposition that he should commit suicide rather than die by the hands of the public executioner. But let us hear those who knew Socrates best. None who have paid any attention to the subject have failed to appreciate the truthfulness of Xenophon's indignant reply to the accusers of his master:

"Now as to the first of these accusations—that he acknowledged not the gods whom the republic held sacred—what proof could they bring of this, since it was manifest that he often sacrificed both at home and on the common altars? Neither was it in secret that he made use of divination; it being a thing well known among the people that Socrates should declare that his *genius* gave him frequent intimations of the future; whence, principally, as it seems to me, his accusers imputed to him the crime of introducing new deities.* But surely, herein, Socrates introduced nothing newer or more strange than any other, who, placing confidence in divinations, make use of auguries, and omens, and symbols, and sacrifices. For these men suppose not that the birds, or persons whom they meet unexpectedly, know what is good for them; but that the gods, by

* As this passage is translated very differently by different authors, we copy the original for the benefit of the classical student: "Πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ὥς οὐκ ἐνόμειζεν οὐδὲ ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς ποιεῖν ποτ' ἐχρήσαντο τεκμηρίω; θύων τε γὰρ φανερόν· ἢν πολλὰκις μὲν οἴκοι, πολλὰκις δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς πόλεως βωμῶν, καὶ παντικῇ χρώμενος οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν· διετεθνήκητο γὰρ ὥς φοίη Σωκράτης· τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν αὐτῷ σημαίνειν· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα μοι δοκοῦσιν αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρειν."

their means, give certain intimations of the future to those who apply themselves to divination. And the same also was his opinion, only with this difference, that, while the greater part say they are persuaded or dissuaded by the flights of birds, or some accidental occurrence, Socrates, on the contrary, so asserted concerning these matters, as he knew them from an internal consciousness; declaring it was his *genius* from whom he received his information. And, in consequence of these significations (communicated, as he said, by his *genius*), Socrates would frequently forewarn his friends what might be well for them to do, and what to forbear; and such as were guided by his advice found their advantage in so doing, while those who neglected it had no small cause for repentance."—*Memorabilia*, book i., chap. i.

With arguments still more convincing, if possible, Xenophon vindicates his master from the charge of not paying sufficient respect to the oracles, or to the power of divination. He shows that, while he would not go to extremes like the ignorant and superstitious, he had at least a becoming regard for all important rites and practices enjoined by the religion of the state:

"Socrates, therefore, esteemed all those as no other than madmen who, excluding the Deity, referred the success of their designs to nothing higher than human prudence. He likewise thought those not much better who had recourse to divination on every occasion, as if a man was to consult the oracle whether he should give the reins of his chariot into the hands of one ignorant or well versed in the art of driving, or place at the helm of his ship a skilful or unskilful pilot.

"He also thought it a kind of impiety to importune the gods with our enquiries concerning things of which we may gain the knowledge by number, weight, or measure; it being, as it seemed to him, incumbent on man to make himself acquainted with whatever the gods had placed within his power. As for such things as were placed beyond his comprehension, for these he ought always apply to the oracle, the gods being ever ready to communicate knowledge to those whose care had been to render them propitious."—*Memorabilia*, book i., chap. i.

After Xenophon has given a full account of the conduct of his master from his own knowledge, justly maintaining that a man of such a character could not be guilty of any crime, either against religion or morality, he proceeds to quote some of his dialogues in illustration of his own assertions. One of these dialogues he introduces with the following remarkable words: "Yet was not Socrates ever in haste to make orators, artists, or able statesmen. The first business, as he thought, was to *implant in the minds of his followers virtuous principles* (since, these wanting, every other talent only added to the *capacity of doing greater harm*), and more especially to inspire them with piety towards the gods."* This, too, is proved from Socrates' own language. But let us see what follows. The philosopher is engaged in proving

* *Memorabilia*, book iv., chap. iii.

to one of his pupils that it does not follow that because we cannot see the gods they do not exist, his real object being to prove the unity of the Deity :

"Even among all those deities who so liberally bestow on us good things, not one of them maketh himself an object of our sight. And He who raised this whole universe, and still upholds the mighty frame, who perfected every part of it in beauty and in goodness, suffering none of these parts to decay through age, but renewing them daily with unfading vigor, whereby they are able to execute whatever he ordains with that readiness and precision which surpass man's imagination ; even He, the Supreme God, who performeth all these wonders, still holds Himself invisible, and it is only in his works that we are capable of admiring him. For consider, my Euthydemus, the sun, which seemeth, as it were, set forth to the view of all men, yet suffereth not itself to be too curiously examined, punishing those with blindness who too rashly venture so to do ; and those ministers of the gods, whom they employ to execute their bidding, remain to us invisible ; for though the thunderbolt is shot from on high, and breaketh in pieces whatever it findeth in its way, yet no one seeth it when it falls, when it strikes, or when it retires ; neither are the winds discoverable to our sight, though we plainly behold the ravages they everywhere make, and with ease perceive what time they are rising. And if there be anything in man, my Euthydemus, partaking of the divine nature, it must surely be the soul, which governs and directs him ; yet no one considers this as an object of his sight. Learn, therefore, *not to despise those things which you cannot see* ; judge of the greatness of the power by the effects which are produced, and reverence the Deity."—*Memorabilia*, book iv. chap. iii.

It may well be asked, If he who uttered these sentiments was impious, who was pious ? And be it remembered that they are reported by one perfectly competent to do so. There was not a theory entertained in his time in any enlightened nation in Europe or Asia with which Xenophon was not acquainted, as we have abundant evidence in his works. But we need not go beyond that now under consideration. In his defence of his great master he shows that there was no one of the systems of philosophy then existing, nay, scarcely one of those which, like the inductive system of Bacon, are claimed to be new, with the nature of which he was not familiar, although by none has he been regarded as one of the most learned or most profound of the pupils of Socrates. In distinguishing his master from the Spinozas, Voltaires, D'Halbecks, Descartes, Malabranches, and Hegels of his time, Xenophon proceeds to say : "So of those who speculate on the nature of the universe : some of them imagine that all that exists is *one*, others that there are worlds infinite in number ; some that all things are in perpetual motion, others that nothing is ever moved ; some that all things are generated and decay, and others that nothing is either generated

or decays."* With these various speculators he contrasts Socrates, showing that the latter was not visionary, but practical; that he devoted himself, not to what was merely curious, but to what was useful to mankind. "His chief object was," he says, "to consider what was pious, what impious; what was becoming, what unbecoming; what was just, what was unjust; what was sanity, what insanity; what was fortitude, what cowardice; what a state was, and what the character of a statesman; what was the nature of government over men, and the qualities of one skilled in governing them; and touching on other subjects with which he thought that those who were acquainted were men of worth and estimation, but that those who were ignorant of them might instantly be deemed as no better than slaves."†

Some have inferred from this as well as from other passages in Xenophon and Plato that Socrates devoted no attention to the physical sciences; but nothing could be more erroneous, since some of his finest illustrations are drawn from geometry, astronomy, and kindred sciences. But Xenophon himself alludes to some of his discussions on physical subjects.‡ So does Diogenes Laertius,§ and Plato reports some of his scientific dialogues.|| But Socrates always tries to conceal his knowledge rather than display it, an observation which applies particularly to his scientific knowledge. Whatever he knew about the solar system—and it is not to be doubted that he knew as much as his preceptor, Anaxagoras, who had instructed Pericles in the nature of eclipses—he thought it more useful to devote his chief attention to the earth and its inhabitants than to the stars. But we have to extract one passage more from Xenophon, one which would show by itself how worthy master and pupil were of each other; a finer tribute was never paid by man to man, and yet none who intelligently study the subject will deny that every word of it was correctly deserved. We allude to that truly sublime picture of moral beauty with which the *Memorabilia* so appropriately concludes:

"Of those who knew what sort of man Socrates was, such as were lovers of virtue, continue to regret him above all other men, even to the present day, as having contributed in the highest degree to their advancement in goodness. To me, being such as I have described him, so pious that he wronged no man even in the most trifling affair, but was of serv-

* Mem., b. i, ch. i.

† Mem., b. i, ch. 1.

‡ See c. 4, and Symp. vi., 6.

§ ii., 45.

|| See Plato's *Apology*; also his *Phædo*, ch. 46, and his *Theætetus*, or *Science*, *passim*.

ice, in the most important matters, to those who enjoyed his society; so temperate that he never preferred pleasure to virtue; so wise that he never erred in distinguishing better from worse needing no counsel from others, but being sufficient in himself to discriminate between them; so able to explain and settle such questions by argument and so capable of discerning the character of others, of confuting those who were in error, and of exhorting them to virtue and honor, he seemed to be such as the best and happiest of men would be. But if any one disapproves of my opinion, let him compare the conduct of others with that of Socrates, and determine accordingly."—*Memorabilia of Socrates*, book iv., chap. viii.

What the character and motives of Socrates' accusers were we have already seen. Now, before we show how little do the greatest thinkers of modern times differ with Plato and Xenophon in their estimate of the greatness and goodness of Socrates, we will take a brief glance at the trial and its result. In doing so, we cannot entirely overlook the influence which Aristophanes' comedy of the Clouds is believed by some critics to have exercised on the destiny of the philosopher; although we believe ourselves that, if it had any effect at all, it must have been very slight, and we will briefly give our reasons for that opinion. That Aristophanes sincerely believed that Socrates was a curse instead of a blessing to Athens seems evident from various circumstances. Notwithstanding his inimitable wit, he was a firm believer in the ancient mythology of Greece as illustrated by Homer and Hesiod, and he knew that Socrates despised it as vulgar, and unworthy of an intellectual people. He regarded him, therefore, as a zealous Christian wit would regard Voltaire or Spinoza. But apart from any feeling of this kind, whether real or simulated, there were many features, both in the habits and personal appearance of the sage, which, to those losing sight of his intellectual qualities, seemed to render him a very fit subject for ridicule.

Of all the ancients there is not one whose features have been so faithfully preserved as those of Socrates. There was scarcely a muscle in his face, or a peculiarity in his whole frame, which has not been faithfully delineated by his two illustrious pupils; and the best artists of ancient and modern times, from Phidias to Raphael, have embodied the same unmistakable lineaments. No one familiar with Plato, Xenophon, and Aristophanes needs any explanatory remark on being introduced to the Socrates of Raphael in the palace Pitti at Florence; one would as soon enquire who is represented by a faithful portrait of his father or mother, brother or sister. The classical student is readily reminded on seeing it that, could we transport ourselves back to the Athenian

market-place during the Peloponnesian War, we should at once recognise one familiar figure, standing with uplifted finger and animated gesture, amid the group of handsome youths or aged sophists eager to hear, to learn, and to refute. We should see the Silenus features of that venerable countenance—the flat nose, the thick lips, the prominent eyes, the mark of a thousand jests for friends and foes. We should laugh at the protuberance of the Falstaff stomach, which no necessary hardships, no voluntary exercise, could bring down. We should perceive the strongly built frame, the full development of health and strength which even sickness in the winter campaign of Potidæa, nor yet in the long plague and stifling heat of the blockade of Athens could impair; which could enter alike into the jovial revelry of the religious festivities of Xenophon and Plato, or sustain the austerities, the scanty clothing, the bare feet, and the coarse fare of his ordinary life. The strong common-sense, the humor, the courage of the man were conspicuous on his very first appearance. And every one knows the story of the physiognomist who detected in his features the traces of that fiery temper which for the most part he kept under severe control, but which, when it did break loose, is described by those who witnessed it as absolutely terrible, over-leaping, both in act and language, every barrier of the ordinary decorum of Grecian manners.*

The fits of abstraction to which Socrates was subject, were another great source of ridicule to the thoughtless; and it seems that these adhered to him through life. We are told that he would suddenly fall into a reverie, and then remain motionless and regardless of all attempts to interrupt or call him away. Once when he was in the camp of Potidæa he was observed to stand thus immovable at the dawn of a long summer's day. The soldiers, one after another, gathered around him, but he continued in the same posture, undisturbed either by their astonishment or the burning heat of noon. Evening came, but Socrates was still in the same attitude, and the people were so much amused that many of them took their supper by his side, some of his fellow soldiers placing their tents beside him, so that nothing might happen to him. At last he started, as if from a trance, and retired.†

* See fragments of Aristoxenes, 27, 28, as quoted in Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. viii., p. 548. See also *Schol. ad Nub.*, p. 181, and *Schol. Plat.*, Bekker, p. 131.

† Plato, *Symp.*, c. xxxix.

Socrates was quite aware of this ludicrous feature in his character; and he disposed of it in his usual happy manner in one of his dialogues. In the *Theætetus*, he contrasts the conduct of the true philosopher, "ignorant even of his ignorance," with that of the keen man of the world, and illustrates the subject by a humorous reference to the famous adventure of Thales, who, being star-gazing, as he walked, fell into a well, and was laughed at by a Thracian servant girl for being so intent upon the distant as not to see what was at his feet. He did not, however, allow philosophy to suffer by the comparison, but hinted that the great difficulty with the majority of mankind is, that they are too intent on what is at their feet, and incapable of reflecting on the distant or future.

In justice to the satirist, we should bear in mind that there is no evidence that he had any personal acquaintance with Socrates before he wrote the *Clouds*. It is much more likely, from all the circumstances, that he knew him only from the reports of the illiterate and superstitious. This will be the more easily understood if it be borne in mind that the habits of the philosopher and the dramatist were entirely different. The former was always in the public place by day, instructing all who would listen to him, and he as generally remained in at night, studying alone, or conversing with his pupils; whereas the latter wrote his comedies by day, and went to the theatre at night to watch their effect. If, on some occasions when the weather was favorable, his pieces were performed in the open air by day, then he attended by day and wrote by night, so that in any case he was as unlikely to meet Socrates as if he had resided at Lacedæmon or Thebes. He may, therefore, be fairly acquitted of the charge of personal malice against the philosopher, although it is one that is most persistently made against him by that class of critics who either cannot or will not take time to examine the facts.

The cause of the mistake is to be found in the *Banquet* in Plato, in which Socrates, Aristophanes, Agatho, Alcibiades, and Aristodemus are the principal speakers. Here the philosopher and the poet discuss the dramatic art with each other in the most friendly manner; and Socrates compels Aristophanes, by force of argument, to admit that it was the province of the same poet to be skilled in the composition of both comedy and tragedy.* It may seem at first view that the philosopher was wrong in maintaining this; but has not

* See Plato's Works, 12mo. edition, vol. iii., p. 472 *et seq.*

Shakespeare proved himself a master in both? Lope de Vega and Calderon may be cited in illustration of the same fact; so may Voltaire and Racine, for both proved that they could excite laughter as well as draw forth tears. But the question is now whether Socrates and Aristophanes had been acquainted with each other before the composition of the *Clouds*? We repeat that they had not; it was at least two or three years after the comedy had been put upon the stage when they became acquainted; and many think that this was the reason why Aristophanes did not put the *Clouds* again on the stage, even after he had gone to the trouble of altering it.

That there is much bitterness in the play cannot be denied; the author exhausted his wonderful inventive powers to heap ridicule on the philosopher. He made the most of his Silenus figure. In one part of the comedy he represents him as a poor, miserable, barefooted creature, lecturing his pupils from a basket suspended in the air, whereas, in another part he represents him as receiving a sum equal to about twelve hundred dollars of our money for the instruction of one pupil, taking care to introduce in almost every act such charges of impiety and infidelity as the following:

STREPSIADES.—“ Blasphemers! why did you insult the gods?
Dash, drive, demolish them, their crimes are many;
But their contemptuous treatment of the gods,
Their impious blasphemies exceed them all.”
—*Clouds*, act ii., scene viii.

* * * * *

STREPSIADES.—“ Insufferable blockhead that I was,
What ailed me, thus to court this Socrates
Ev’n to the exclusion of the immortal gods?
O Mercury, forgive me; be not angry,
Dear tutelary god, but spare me still.”—*Ib.*

Allusions like these in such a masterpiece of wit and humor as the *Clouds* may well be supposed to have exercised considerable influence on a people who had now become degenerate; yet the comedy was by no means successful, a fact which shows that they were not yet so demoralized as to encourage any efforts, however brilliant in themselves, to degrade the most exemplary of their fellow-citizens. The author’s former comedy had carried off the prize by acclamation; but no prize was awarded for the *Clouds*; the first and second having been given to Amipsias and Cratinus respectively. But this is not the only evidence we have of the utter failure of the piece as a drama. We find, as already intimated, that the author made considerable alteration in it for a second repre-

sentation ; but when the time arrived public opinion had so strongly set in against the Clouds that he did not venture to produce it. A still more important fact is that twenty years had intervened between the representation of the Clouds and the trial of Socrates. If in addition to this it be remembered that the school of the philosopher was never in a more flourishing condition than it was during this period, it can hardly be maintained with any degree of reason that the odium of his trial and execution ought to be cast on Aristophanes, however justly he may be censured for having attacked such a man.

Although the Athenian people were grossly superstitious at the time of the trial of Socrates, it is probable after all that the conduct of some of the friends of the philosopher had more to do with his condemnation and death than his alleged impiety. Doubtless it was the superstition of the people that emboldened his enemies to bring him to trial, but the five hundred jurors before whom he was tried—although they were drawn at hazard from all classes of society—had their own views of the case. But whatever were their motives there was only a majority of six in favor of his condemnation. What is most probable is that this majority, among whom there were butchers, shoemakers, tailors, &c., condemned him not for his own conduct, but for that of Critias and Alcibiades. The former, who was a blood-thirsty tyrant and a deadly enemy of the people, had once been the pupil of Socrates ; he had also introduced to him his young cousin, Charmides, who did not prove much better than himself. It was in vain that the friends of Socrates urged the fact that, as soon as Critias proved himself a bad man, the philosopher refused to have any intercourse with him and incurred his hatred by doing so. Had it been otherwise ; had he continued to advise him to the last, he would have been no more responsible for his bad acts than Seneca was for those of Nero, or Aristotle for those of Alexander. The pains which Xenophon takes to vindicate his master in relation to these men show that he, too, had an idea that it was for their conduct he was condemned. But, whatever was the real cause of the sentence passed on Socrates, it is not likely that it would ever have been carried into execution had the philosopher himself made any earnest effort to set it aside. Instead of attempting to move his judges to clemency as was the Athenian custom in his time, he addressed them with his usual frankness and boldness, telling them the

simple truth, that he deserved to be rewarded rather than punished. This they misunderstood, doubtless regarding it as defiant and haughty. Whether it was natural that they should do so or not may be judged from the language used by Socrates, which is as follows :

"What counter-proposition shall I make to you," he said, "as a substitute for the penalty of Melitos? Shall I name to you the treatment which I think I deserve at your hands? In that case my proposition would be that I should be rewarded with a subsistence at the public expense in the Prytaneum; for that is what I really deserve as a public benefactor—one who has neglected all thought of his own affairs, and embraced voluntary poverty, in order to devote himself to your best interests, and to admonish you individually on the serious necessity of mental and moral improvement. Assuredly I cannot admit that I have deserved from you any evil whatever; nor would it be reasonable in me to propose exile or imprisonment, which I know to be certain and considerable evils, in place of death, which may perhaps be not an evil, but a good. I might, indeed, propose to you a pecuniary fine; for the payment of *that* would be no evil. But I am poor and have no money: all that I could muster might perhaps amount to a mina; and I, therefore, propose to you a fine of one mina, as punishment on myself. Plato and my other friends near me desire me to increase this sum to thirty minæ, and they engage to pay it for me. A fine of thirty minæ, therefore, is the counter-penalty which I submit for your judgment."

Many think that this sealed his fate. Plato attempted to speak for him, but was rudely prevented by the court. Nor would Socrates allow Lysias to read the defense which he had prepared for him; although he admitted that it was both eloquent and just. It was thought, however, that when the sentence of death was passed upon him—for at this time he was only declared guilty—he would pursue a different course in order to save his life. All who thought so, however, were mistaken; never did he speak more coolly or give utterance to more sublime sentiments than after he was sentenced to the hemlock draught. His address to his judges is a masterpiece in its kind; it has inspired many an eloquent tongue since his time, but certainly has never been surpassed, if equalled. Far from being a cringing effort to evade the fate that awaited him, it had much more to do with the destiny of others than with his own. In short, on no other occasion did he pour forth a loftier strain in regard to those grand problems which are most dear to mankind. We are aware that there are but few of our readers who are not familiar with this noble address; but for the sake even of this few we make room for the following extracts :

"For, if you think that by putting men to death you will restrain any one from upbraiding you because you do not live well, you are much mistaken; for this method of escape is neither possible nor honorable, but

that other is most honorable and most easy, not to put a check upon others, but for a man to take heed to himself, how he may be most perfect. Having predicted thus much to those of you who have condemned me, I take my leave of you. But with you who have voted for my acquittal, I would gladly hold converse on what has now taken place, while the magistrates are busy and I am not yet carried to the place where I must die. Stay with me, then, so long, O Athenians, for nothing hinders our conversing with each other, while we are permitted to do so, for I wish to make known to you, as being my friends, the meaning of that which has just now befallen me.

* * * * *

"I will tell you: what has befallen me appears to be a blessing; and it is impossible that we think rightly who suppose that death is an evil. A great proof of this to me is the fact that it is impossible but that the accustomed signal should have opposed me, unless I had been about to meet with some good. Moreover we may hence conclude that there is great hope that death is a blessing. For to die is one of two things, for either the dead may be annihilated and have no sensation of anything whatever; or, as it is said, there is a certain change and passage of the soul from one place to another. And if it is a privation of all sensation, as it were a sleep in which the sleeper has no dream, death would be a wonderful gain. For I think if any one, having selected a night in which he slept so soundly as not to have had a dream, and having compared this night with all the other nights and days of his life, should be required no consideration to say how many days and nights he had passed better and more pleasantly than this night throughout his life. I think that not only a private person, but even the great king himself, would find them easy to number in comparison with other days and nights. If, therefore, death is a thing of this kind, I say it is a gain; for thus all futurity appears to be nothing more than one night.

"But if, on the other hand, death is a removal from hence to another place, and what is said be true, that all the dead are there, what greater blessing can there be than this, my judges? For if, on arriving at Hades, released from those who pretend to be judges, one shall find those who are true judges, and who are said to judge these, Minos and Rhadamanthus, Æacus and Triptolemus, and such other of the demi-gods as were just during their own life, would this be a sad removal? At what price would you not estimate a conference with Orpheus and Musæus, Hesiod and Homer? I, indeed, would be willing to die often, if this be true; for to me the sojourn there would be admirable, where I should meet with Palamedes, and Ajax, son of Telamon, and any other of the ancients who has died by an unjust sentence. The comparing my sufferings with theirs would, I think, be no unpleasing occupation. But the greatest pleasure would be to spend my time in questioning and examining the people there as I have done those here, and discovering who among them is wise, and who fancies himself to be so but is not. At what price, my judges, would not any one estimate the opportunity of questioning him who led that mighty army against Troy; or Ulysses, or Sisyphus, or ten thousand others whom one might mention, both men and women, with whom to converse and associate, and to question them, would be an inconceivable happiness? Surely, for that the judges there do not condemn to death; for, in other respects, those who live there are more happy than those that are here, and are henceforth immortal, if, at least, what is said be true.

"You, therefore, O my judges, ought to entertain good hopes with respect to death, and to meditate on this one truth, that to a good man nothing is evil, neither while living nor when dead, nor are his concerns

neglected by the gods. And what has befallen me is not the effect of chance ; but this is clear to me, that now to die, and be freed from my cares, is better for me. On this account the warning in no way turns me aside ; and I bear no resentment towards those who condemned me, or against my accusers, although they did not condemn and accuse me with this intention, but thinking to injure me ; in this they deserve to be blamed. But it is now time to depart—for me to die, for you to live ; but which of us is going to a better state is unknown to any one but God."

It will be admitted that there are not many Christians in our boasted nineteenth century capable of uttering more elevated sentiments than these in similar circumstances. No vindictive expression escapes the philosopher ; he indulges in no sarcasm against either his accusers or those who condemned him ; makes no idle boasts ; evinces no fear ; but is as calm, cheerful, and thoughtful as if he were seated at dinner with Plato, Xenophon, and Crito, with nothing further to trouble him than the subject of his next day's lecture at the Lyceum, or in the public square. Still more sublime, if possible, is his conduct in prison. There was not one of his friends who did not advise him to escape. Crito left no means untried to induce him, telling him that he had only to say the word ; that he had every necessary arrangement made to convey him to a place of safety. First he tells him that his whole wealth is at his disposal, or any part of it he may require to effect his escape ; he then explains that, if Socrates would object to be the cause of impoverishing him, his friends would contribute in such a manner that none of them would experience any privation from what they gave. Finding that he would accept neither proposition, although fully appreciating the kindness which dictated each, Crito finally appeals to him in behalf of his children, hoping that his well-known affection for them and his anxious wish to have them thoroughly educated would prompt him to save his life for their sakes. This appeal he sought to strengthen still more by reminding the philosopher that the public would not regard him as wise or prudent, or possessed of proper natural feeling, if he failed to consult the interests of his children in this way. But nothing could cause Socrates to swerve from what he conceived the path of honor and virtue ; but still mild and gentle, he replies as follows :

"With respect, then, to things just and unjust, base and honorable, good and evil, about which we are now consulting, ought we to follow the opinion of the multitude, and to respect it, or that of one, if there is any one who understands, whom we ought to reverence and respect rather than all others together ? And if we do not obey him, shall we not corrupt and injure that part of ourselves which becomes better by justice,

but is ruined by injustice? Or is this nothing? *Cri.* I agree with you, Socrates. *Socr.* Come, then, if we destroy that which becomes better by what is wholesome, but is impaired by what is unwholesome, through *being persuaded by those who do not understand*, can we enjoy life when that is impaired? And this is the body we are speaking of, is it not? *Cri.* Yes. *Socr.* Can we, then, enjoy life with a diseased and impaired body? *Cri.* By no means. *Socr.* But can we enjoy life when that is impaired which injustice ruins, but justice benefits? Or do we think that to be of less value than the body, whatever part of us it may be, about which injustice and justice are concerned? *Cri.* By no means. *Socr.* But of more value? *Cri.* Much more.

Socr. We must not then, my excellent friends *so much regard what the multitude will say of us*, but what he will say *who understands the just and unjust*; the one, even truth itself. So that at first you did not set out with a right principle, when you laid it down that we ought to regard the opinion of the multitude with respect to things just, and honorable, and good, and their contraries. However, some one may say, are not the multitude able to put us to death? *Cri.* This, too, is clear, Socrates; any one might say so. *Socr.* You say truly. But, my admirable friend, this principle which we have just discussed appears to me to be the same as it was before. And consider this, moreover, whether it still holds good with us or not, that we are not to be anxious about living, but about living well. *Cri.* It does hold good. *Socr.* And does this hold good or not, that to live well, and honorably, and justly, are the same thing? *Cri.* It does. *Socr.* From what has been admitted, then, this consideration arises, whether it is just or not, that I should endeavor to leave this place without the permission of the Athenians. And should it appear to be just, we will make the attempt; but if not, we will give it up; but as to the considerations which you mention, of an *outlay of money, reputation, and the education of children*, beware, Crito, lest such considerations as these in reality belong to *these multitudes, who rashly put one to death, and would restore one to life, if they could do so, without any reason at all*. But we, since reason so requires, must consider nothing else than what we just now mentioned, whether we shall act justly in paying money and contracting obligations to those who will lead me hence, as well they who lead me as we who are led hence, or whether in truth we shall not act unjustly in doing all these things. And if we should appear in so doing to be acting unjustly, observe that we must not consider whether from remaining here and continuing quiet we must needs die, or suffer anything else, rather than whether we shall be acting unjustly.

Cri. You appear to me to speak wisely, Socrates; but see what we are to do. *Socr.* Let us consider the matter together, my friend; and if you have anything to object to what I say make good your objection, and I will yield to you; but if not, cease, my excellent friend, to urge upon me the same thing so often, that I ought to depart hence, against the will of the Athenians. For I highly esteem your endeavors to persuade me thus to act, so long as it is not against my will. Consider, then, the beginning of our enquiry, whether it is stated to your entire satisfaction, and endeavor to answer the question put to you exactly as you think right. *Cri.* I will endeavor to do so. *Socr.* Say we, then, that we should on no account deliberately commit injustice, or may we commit injustice under certain circumstances, under others not? Or is it on no account either good or honorable to commit injustice, as we have often agreed on former occasions, and as we just now said? Or have all those our former admissions been dissipated in these few days; and have we, Crito, old men as we are, been for a long time seriously

conversing with each other, without knowing that we in no respect differ from children? Or does the case, beyond all question, stand as we then determined? Whether the multitude allow it or not, and whether we must suffer a more severe or a milder punishment than this, still is injustice on every account both evil and disgraceful to him who commits it? Do we admit this or not? *Cri.* We do admit it."—Plato, vol. i., p. 37.

From this we see not only that Socrates, while valuing life as highly as any one, would not do anything he thought wrong in order to save it, let those most dear to him suffer what they might, by his death; we also learn from it what the wisest of mankind thought of majorities; although this is by no means the only dialogue in which he shows how absurd it is to think that the opinion of fifty ignorant persons is better than that of one intelligent person. Indeed, there are not a few critics, whose views are entitled to respect, who think that it was this contempt for the will of the unthinking multitude more than any other cause which led to his condemnation. That it contributed to do so in no slight degree is beyond question. But what intelligent republican can deny the truth of Socrates' remarks on the subject? It is easy to see, however, that in showing that the opinion of a skilful pilot as to the safest means of guiding a vessel into the harbor or out of it is better than that of fifty persons who know nothing either of ship or harbor, he is not actuated by any hatred of democracy, but by the love of truth. His whole life shows that he cared as little for kings as he did for democrats, only so far as he found the former better than the latter; when he found the reverse, his esteem and regard were reversed accordingly. Several kings treated him with consideration and invited him to their courts; but none could induce him to relinquish his mission as a teacher.*

Crito, on the other hand, was neither king nor prince, but a private citizen, and the philosopher loved and esteemed him more than he did all the potentates of his time. But we have sufficient in the same dialogue from which the above extract is taken to show that none respected the laws and institutions of the Athenians by which he was condemned more than Socrates. There is no finer specimen of his inimitable

* Archelaus, King of Macedon, invited Socrates to reside at his court, but he refused to go, sending word that he did not wish to be the recipient of benefits which he had not the power to reciprocate: "Archelaus rex Socratem rogavit ut ad se veniret; dixisse Socrates traditur, nolle se ad eum venire à quo acciperet beneficia, cum reddere illi paria non posset."—*Seneca, De Beneficia*, lib. v., cap. vi., p. 96.

mode of reasoning than that passage in which he makes the laws remonstrate with him as follows :

"For consider, by violating these compacts, and offending against any of them, what good you will do to yourself or your friends. For that your friends will run the risk of being themselves banished, and deprived of the rights of citizenship, or of forfeiting their property, is pretty clear. And as for yourself, if you should go to one of the neighboring cities, either Thebes or Megara, for both are governed by good laws, you will go there, Socrates, as an enemy to their polity, and such as have any regard for their country will look upon you with suspicion, regarding you as a corrupter of the laws, and you will confirm the opinion of the judges, so that they will appear to have condemned you rightly, for whoso is a corrupter of the laws will appear in all likelihood to be a corrupter of youths and weak-minded men. Will you, then, avoid these well-governed cities and the best-ordered men? And should you do so, will it be worth your while to live? Or will you approach them, and have the effrontery to converse with them, Socrates, on subjects the same as you did here, that virtue and justice, legal institutions and laws, should be most highly valued by men? And do you not think that this conduct of Socrates would be very indecorous? You must think so.

"But you will keep clear of these places, and go to Thessaly, Crito's friend, for there is the greatest disorder and licentiousness, and perhaps they will gladly hear you relating how drolly you escaped from prison, clad in some dress or covered with a skin, or in some other disguise such as fugitives are wont to dress themselves in, having so changed your usual appearance. And will no one say that you, though an old man, with but a short time to live, in all probability, have dared to have such a base desire of life as to violate the most sacred laws? Perhaps not, should you not offend any one. But if you should you will hear, Socrates, many things utterly unworthy of you. You will live, too, in a state of abject dependence on all men, and as their slave. But what will you do in Thessaly besides feasting, as if you had gone to Thessaly to a banquet? And what will become of those discourses about justice and all other virtues? But do you wish to live for the sake of your children, that you may rear and educate them? What then? Will you take them to Thessaly, and there rear and educate them, making them aliens to their country, that they may owe you this obligation too? Or, if not so, being reared here, will they be better reared and educated while you are living, though not with them? for your friends will take care of them. Whether, if you go to Thessaly, will they take care of them, but if you go to Hades will they not take care of them? If, however, any advantage is to be derived from those that say they are your friends, we must think they will.

"Then, O Socrates, be persuaded by us who have nurtured you, and do not set a higher value on your children, or on life, or on anything else than justice, that, when you arrive in Hades, you may have all this to say in your defence before those who have dominion there. For neither here in this life, if you do what is proposed, does it appear to be better, or more just, or more holy to yourself, or any of your friends; nor will it be better for you when you arrive there. But now you depart, if you do depart, unjustly treated, not by us, the laws, but by men; but should you escape, having thus disgracefully returned injury for injury and evil for evil, having violated your own compacts and connections which you made with us, and having done evil to those to whom you least of all should have done it, namely yourself, your friends, your country, and us, both we shall be indignant with you as long as you live, and there our

brothers, the laws in Hades, will not receive you favorably, knowing that you attempted, as far as you were able, to destroy us. Let not Crito, then, persuade you to do what he advises, rather than we.

"These things, my dear friend, Crito, be assured I seem to hear, as the votaries of Cybele seem to hear the flutes. And the sound of these words booms in my ear, and makes me incapable of hearing anything else."—*Plato*, vol. i., p. 43.

Need we say that no jurist could vindicate the laws more eloquently than this, or present stronger inducements to respect and obey them? Nor did it fail to produce the desired effect. Even Crito admits that Socrates is right after all. Nor have there been any since his time, whose opinions possess much weight, that have taken a different view of the case. The best critics are of opinion that it would have been beneath the dignity of Socrates to have tried to conciliate the favor of his judges. Referring to the contrary view, as entertained by a certain class, Quintillian remarks: "But such a course would have been unbecoming to Socrates; and he, therefore, pleaded like a man who thought himself deserving not of punishment, but of the highest honors; for, wisest of men as he was, he preferred that what remained of his life should be lost rather than that portion of it which was past; and since he was not sufficiently understood by the men of his day, he committed himself to the judgment of posterity, and purchased, by the sacrifice of a short portion of extreme old age, a life that will last forever."*

Once more, however, when the fatal hour was approaching Crito tried to induce him to escape; but Socrates was resolute to the last; his fortitude seemed to increase, if possible, as his end drew near. Not that he made any display of his courage, or any effort to show that he was superior in this respect to other men. On no occasion of his life was he more calm, more modest, or more cheerful than he was while the executioner was preparing the fatal draught for him; his last moments are thus described:

"But when he came from bathing he sat down, and did not speak much afterwards; then the officer of the Eleven came in, and, standing near him, said: 'Socrates, I shall not have to find that fault with you that I do with others, that they are angry with me and curse me when, by order of the archons, I bid them drink the poison. But you, on all other occasions during the time you have been here, I have found to be the most noble, meek, and excellent man of all that ever came into this place; and, therefore, I am now well convinced that you will not be angry

* "Maluit enim vir sapientissimus, quod superasset ex vita, sibi p-rire, quam quod p-terisset. Et quando ab hominibus sui temporis parum intelligebatur, posterorum se iudicis reservavit, brevi detrimento jam ultime senectutis ævum sæculorum omnium consecutus."—*Inst. Orator*, lib. xi. i., 10.

with me, for you know who are to blame, but with them. Now, then, for you know what I came to announce to you, farewell, and endeavor to bear what is inevitable as easily as possible.' And at the same time, bursting into tears, he turned away and withdrew.

"And Socrates, looking after him, said, 'And thou, too, farewell; we will do as you direct.' At the same time, turning to us, he said: 'How courteous the man is; during the whole time I have been here he has visited me, and conversed with me sometimes, and proved the worthiest of men; and now how generously he weeps for me. But come, Crito, let us obey him, and let some one bring the poison, if it is ready pounded, if not, let the man pound it.' Then Crito said: 'But I think, Socrates, that the sun is still on the mountains, and has not yet set. Besides, I know that others have drunk the poison very late, after it had been announced to them, and have supped and drunk freely, and some even have enjoyed the objects of their love. Do not hasten then, for there is yet time.' Upon this, Socrates replied: 'These men whom you mention, Crito, do these things with good reason, for they think they shall gain by so doing, and I too with good reason shall not do so; for I think I shall gain nothing by drinking a little later, except to become ridiculous to myself, in being so fond of life, and sparing of it when none any longer remains. Go, then,' he said, 'obey, and do not resist.'

"Crito, having heard this, nodded to the boy that stood near. And the boy, having gone out, and stayed for some time, came, bringing with him the man that was to administer the poison, who brought it ready pounded in a cup. And Socrates, on seeing the man, said, 'Well, my good friend, as you are skilled in these matters, what must I do?' 'Nothing else,' he replied, 'than when you have drunk it, walk about, until there is a heaviness in your legs, then lie down; thus it will do its purpose.' And at the same time he held out the cup to Socrates. And he having received it very cheerfully, Echecrates, neither trembling, nor changing at all in color or countenance, but, as he was wont, looking steadfastly at the man, said, 'What say you of this potion, with respect to making a libation to any one, is it lawful or not?' 'We only pound so much, Socrates,' he said, 'as we think sufficient to drink.'

"'I understand you,' he said, 'but it is certainly both lawful and right to pray to the gods, that my departure hence thither may be happy; which, therefore, I pray, and so may it be.' And as he said this he drank it off readily and calmly. Thus far most of us were with difficulty able to restrain ourselves from weeping, but when we saw him drinking, and having finished the draught, we could do so no longer, but in spite of myself the tears came in full torrent, so that, covering my face, I wept for myself, for I did not weep for him, but for my own fortune, in being deprived of such a friend. But Crito, even before me, when he could not restrain his tears, had risen up. But Apollodorus, even before this, had not ceased weeping, and then bursting into an agony of grief, weeping and lamenting, he pierced the heart of every one present except Socrates himself. But he said, 'What are you doing, my admirable friends? I indeed, for this reason chiefly, sent away the women that they might not commit any folly of this kind. For I have heard that it is right to die with good omens. Be quiet, therefore, and bear up.'

"When we heard this, we were ashamed, and restrained our tears. But he, having walked about, he said that his legs were growing heavy, lay down on his back; for the man so directed him. And at the same time he who gave him the poison, taking hold of him, after a short interval, examined his feet and legs; and then having pushed his foot hard, he asked if he felt it: he said that he did not. And after this he pressed

his thighs; and thus going higher, he showed us that he was growing cold and stiff. Then Socrates touched himself, and said that, when the poison reached his heart, he should then depart."—*Plato*, vol. i., p. 125.

The execution of such a man is an indelible blot on the Athenian character, and it has always been held to be a strong argument against democracy. None who have charged republics with ingratitude have failed to quote it as an example. Nor will it answer the question to say that the people were ignorant, for they were undoubtedly not only the most enlightened of their time, but perhaps were quite as much so as any others that have since established and maintained as long as they did, a republican form of government. It is idle to deny this, for there is abundant proof of it. Had the Athenians been an illiterate, ignorant people, they could never have derived any pleasure either from the great tragic or comic writers with whose productions they were delighted. No illiterate person could understand Aristophanes, not to mention Æschylus, Sophocles, or Euripides. There is not an act or a scene in the dramas of either which does not contain allusions that were utterly unintelligible to those unacquainted with the earlier Greek poets and philosophers, including Hesiod, Homer, Pythagoras, and Thales.

Who can pretend that our people could understand at the present day dramas which would derive so much of their interest from subtle allusions to various systems of philosophy taught for the last two hundred years; or, to certain situations, theories, precepts, or peculiarities of style in the works of Chaucer, Ben Jonson, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, &c. Need we say it would require a much higher degree of training than our common schools afford to do this? Indeed, we fear that there are not many of our public school teachers, male and female, who are capable of relishing such plays.

The Athenians, then, were not ignorant as compared with what are called the enlightened peoples of modern times, although it is certain that they became much demoralized under the rule of the Thirty Tyrants. They were guilty of such judicial atrocities as the execution of Socrates and of their six victorious generals, and the banishment of Themistocles, Aristides, and Cymon, not because they were ignorant as a people, but because no extent of educational facilities can make the masses thoughtful. If the people of the present day had the same unlimited power as the Athenians had, it is their best fellow-citizens they, too, would be most likely to put to death, especially if they had but just

freed themselves from an oppressive and cruel tyranny of thirty years duration, and were led to believe that those fellow-citizens had sympathised with their oppressors.

That the Athenians were thus actuated by passion is sufficiently evident from their subsequent conduct; for they solemnly asked pardon of the manes of Socrates, expressing their deepest regret for the wrong they had done their best friend.* In the same spirit of repentance and contrition they erected a temple to his memory. It is true that all this is no more than what Socrates himself said of the fickle conduct of the multitude in a passage which we have quoted above, namely, that they would put one to death to-day without any sufficient reason, and would restore him to life again to-morrow without any reason; a sentiment in which the greatest thinkers since his time have fully concurred.

But assuming that the cruel injustice and ingratitude of the Athenians should be attributed not to their own character or disposition, as influenced by the tyranny under which they had so long labored, but to their democratic form of government, then the question arises, did Democracy commit more atrocious acts after all than Monarchy? In order to answer this fairly the Athenians must be compared to their contemporaries; at least to those who lived in the same era. If we compare them thus to their royal and princely neighbors we shall find that after all the republicans did not commit more or worse excesses than the monarchists. We need only mention a few instances: It was not the democratic principle that induced Ptolemy, the uncle of Alexander the Great to assassinate his brother Alexander in order that he might usurp the kingdom of Macedon. A still worse man, if possible, was Philip, who died by a stab from Pausanius. Another of the family condemns Cleopatra and her son to be thrown into a furnace of molten brass. Yet another member poisons Demetrius, and murders all from whom he thinks he has any opposition to apprehend. Now, be it recollected that the kingdom of Macedon alone furnishes these instances, and many others. It is true

* It is recorded in the argument of one of the orations of Isocrates that Euripides made the Athenians weep by a passage in his tragedy of Palamedes, which reproached them with the death of the philosopher: "Ye have murdered the best of the Greeks." The commentator goes on to say that, knowing it was Socrates that was alluded to, the whole theatre rose with one accord and wept "*(καὶ νοήσαντες τὸ θεῖον ἄνθρωπον ἰδὼντες, διὸ καὶ περὶ Σωκράτους ἤντησαν)*." It is proper to add that some think that Socrates survived Euripides; be this as it may, no fact is better established than that each of the three great tragic authors had the greatest veneration for the philosopher.

that these were not judicial acts but the acts of individuals ; but it is not the less true that they resulted from the monarchical principle quite as much as the execution of Socrates and other similar atrocities resulted from the democratic principle.

As to the philosophy of Socrates, it is sufficiently known by its fruits. His pupils were the most profound thinkers of his time ; and certain it is that they have not since been surpassed in their respective spheres. In proof of this it would be almost sufficient to mention the names of Plato, Xenophon, and Æschines. But be it remembered, that there are illustrious philosophers who, if they did not learn directly from him, received instructions from his pupils. This is true, for example, of Aristotle, the pupil of Plato. The Socratic school produced seven sects : namely, the Cynic, Stoic, Academic, Peripatetic, Eliac, Megaric, and Cyrenaic. Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic school, received his lessons from Socrates, on the banks of the Ilissus ; and the Stoic sect, founded by Zeno, was but an off-shoot of the Cynic, though not less famous than its parent. The Academic sect was founded by another of Socrates' disciples, the divine Plato.

The Academic in turn produced the Peripatetic, with Aristotle at its head. But we need mention no more of the Socratic schools ; there is glory enough for any mortal in those we have mentioned ; so much, indeed, that we think we may repeat the comparison made at the beginning of this article, that no man has made a nearer approach to Jesus Christ in the good he has rendered mankind by his teachings, than Socrates.

His mode of teaching was as ingenious, original and successful as the lessons which he taught were wise and useful. He never indulged in long harangues to his pupils either in the Lyceum, or the public squares, but always allowed as many as could find it convenient to take part with him in discussing the subject under consideration. He never pretended to possess any more knowledge than what he brought to light by his interrogatories during the discussion ; in proportion as others affected superior wisdom and learning did he commence to speak like an unsophisticated person whom a school-boy might silence. This encouraged his opponent, who indulges in gorgeous declamation ; but just when he thinks, if a stranger, that his victory is complete, Socrates kindly suggests that there are still some little things which

he does not entirely understand. Not that he has the least doubt of the learning or genius of his interlocutor, for whose opinions he tells him he has the greatest deference. The person thus complimented involves himself deeper and deeper, telling him that he has only to make known to him any difficulties he may have in order to secure a satisfactory and immediate solution. At last Socrates proposes a question, generally a very simple one, such as a child might ask; but this is soon followed by another and another, the last being always the most difficult, until at length the person who regarded him as a mere simpleton at the beginning finds himself so completely enveloped in his arguments that he has no means of escape.

But the philosopher never exults in this; he is still complimentary and encouraging, although if his interlocutor is a professional sophist, he does not feel the less mortified or provoked by the friendly smiles and easy manners of his antagonist. Accordingly, the probability is that no matter how much he has learned from Socrates, he withdraws from the discussion as his enemy. It was otherwise, however, with the youth of Athens, or with any sensible man whose vices had not attracted the attention of the philosopher, but who loved truth and esteemed knowledge. Both of these classes were convinced of the superiority of Socrates, above all others, as an instructor, and they loved and venerated him accordingly. All agreed that by no other system than his could they learn so much in a given time, and that by no other system could the valuable lessons they received from him have been so indelibly impressed on their minds. In short, except to the malefactors and superstitious of his time, Socrates rendered philosophy as attractive and delightful as it was useful, beautiful, and sublime, and the best judges, in all subsequent times, have given him credit for it accordingly.*

If the wife of the philosopher was as great a termagant as she is represented in several ancient works, and as it has long been the fashion to regard her, there is all the more honor due

* "To sage Philosophy next lend thine ear,
From heaven descended to the low-roof'd house
Of Socrates; see there his tenement,
Whom well inspired the oracle pronounced
Wise of men; from whose mouth issued forth
Mellifluous streams, that water'd all the schools,
Of academics old and new, with those
Surnamed Peripateticks, and the sect
Epicurean, and the Stoick severe."—*Milton*.

to him. But there is really no proof that she was very disagreeable, or very unkind; on the contrary, there are well authenticated facts which make her appear in altogether a different light. One of the finest passages in the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon is that in which Socrates reproves his son Lamprocles for having failed in his duty to his mother, reminding him that she deserved very different treatment at his hands. "Do you think," says the philosopher, "that this mother who is *so benevolent* to you, who, when you are ill, takes care of you *to the utmost of her power* that you may recover your health, and that you may want nothing that is necessary for you, and who besides, entreats the gods for many blessings on your head, and pays vows for you, is a *harsh mother*. For my part, I think that if you cannot endure *such a mother* you cannot endure *anything that is good*."* This is sufficiently clear. But it may be replied that her being kind enough as a mother was perfectly consistent with her being unkind as a wife; but we have the testimony of Plato on this point.

In the account of Socrates' death, from which we have given an extract above, the following passage occurs: "When we entered we found Socrates just freed from his bonds, and Xantippe, you know her, holding his little boy and sitting by him. As soon as Xantippe saw us, she wept aloud, and said such things as women usually do on such occasions, as 'Socrates, your friends will now converse with you for the last time, and you with them.' But Socrates, looking towards Crito, said, 'Crito, let some one take her home.' Upon which some of Crito's attendants led her away *wailing and beating herself*."† This shows that if she was a termagant, she was kind at heart; and there are not many termagants who have much tenderness. Indeed the truth seems to be that the only foundation for the character assigned to Xantippe was that she sometimes sought to awake her husband from his reveries, and perhaps used some physical force to bring him home; so that as she thought, he might not be a laughing-stock to the passers-by. It was very natural that those who saw her drag him in this way, and perhaps scold him at the same time for subjecting himself to ridicule, should think that she was a harsh and tyrannical woman; whereas those acquainted with the fact and aware of her motive, would regard her in a very different light.

But whatever was the real character of Xantippe or her

* *Memo.*, book ii., ch. 11.

† *Phædo*, in Plato, c. 9.

son, Socrates was an honor to human nature and a benefactor of mankind. There are none of us who can make any pretensions to sound reasoning who are not more or less indebted to his philosophy, although we may never have read either Plato or Xenophon, for his thoughts pervade every literature. Wherever his dialogues are reported, whether in Plato or Xenophon, they are easily distinguished by their wonderful clearness and lucidity; for neither of his two great pupils approaches him in this respect, although Xenophon has been more successful in imitating his peculiar graphicalness and simplicity of style than Plato. Both, however, are eminently Socratic; we need hardly add, therefore, that both should be studied. It is not sufficient to read them once, twice, or even three times; not because they are obscure, for they are rarely so, but because they are everywhere pregnant with thought, everywhere imbued with the true Socratic wisdom, especially the works of Plato, which constitute a veritable fountain of knowledge, but which, precisely because they are thus invaluable, are read only by the judicious and thoughtful few.

-
- ART. II.—1. *Systema Saturnium*. By CHRISTIAN HUYGENS. Hagae, 1659.
2. *On the Rings of Saturn*. By G. P. BOND. *Gould's Astronomical Journal*, vol. ii., pp. 5-10, May, 1851.
3. *On the Constitution of Saturn's Rings*. By BENJAMIN PEIRCE, LL.D. *Gould's Astronomical Journal*, vol. ii., pp. 17-19, June, 1851.
4. *On the Adams Prize-Problem for 1856*. By BENJAMIN PEIRCE, LL.D. *Gould's Astronomical Journal*, vol. iv., pp. 110-112, September, 1855.
5. *On the Stability of the Motions of Saturn's Rings*. An Essay which obtained the Adams Prize for the year 1856, in the University of Cambridge. By J. CLERK MAXWELL, M.A. 4to. Cambridge, 1859.

THERE are certain problems in astronomy which invite the attention and abilities of the mathematician and the astronomer, by their practical importance. Such are pre-eminently the lunar theory and the figure of the earth. Second in importance are the planetary theory and the theory of the sun's real and apparent motions. Other departments of astronomy excite the perseverance and the talent of the analyst on account of their illustration of some general principle of

nature, and of the mechanical laws which regulated the formation of the universe, and still control its phenomena. Among this last class we must reckon the theory of comets and that of the Saturnian system.

Saturn, besides being next to the largest and most influential member of the planetary system, is surrounded by an unknown number of rings, which encompass the primary equatorially, like an immense but very narrow belt, in every part separated from the body of the planet. We are thus invited to a consideration of our knowledge respecting this far-off member of our planetary group.

Sir William Herschel was the first to show that the equatorial diameter of Saturn is greater than the polar. In 1782 he determined the former to be $22''.81$, and the latter $20''.61$. These numbers give an ellipticity of $1-10.37$ th. In 1805, however, the same astronomer came to the conclusion that although the equatorial diameter exceeded the polar, yet it was not the longest diameter of the planet, but that such diameter was that which passes through the latitude of $43^\circ 20'$. He fixed the ratio of the three diameters as the numbers 36, 35.41, 32. Many years ago, Professor Airy showed that the Herschelian form of Saturn could not be accounted for by theory. This form was admitted among astronomers as the figure of Saturn, in consequence of the high authority upon which the alleged irregularity rested, until the year 1832, when Professor Bessel, the greatest astronomer of our day, resolved to ascertain the form of Saturn directly from measurement. The result of his investigation shows how easily a great mind may be led to take for truth that which is not, when a hypothesis is not subjected to a critical investigation.

By careful measurement Bessel found the apparent equatorial diameter of the planet, at the mean distance from the earth, to be $17''.053$, and that of the polar $15''.381$. These measures give, for the ellipticity of the planet, $1-10.19$ th, which is a very little greater than that assigned by Herschel. Bessel's method of procedure was to assume that the figure of Saturn is that of an oblate spheroid, with axes as indicated by the above measurement, and he then calculated the value of several diameters having a given inclination to the axes, and then to measure directly the length of such diameters. The result was a complete confirmation of the spheroidal theory of the form of the planet, as the following table will show :*

* Grant's Hist. Phys. Astronomy, p. 253.

DISTANCE FROM THE EQUATOR.	MEASURED DIAMETER.	CALCULATED DIAMETER.
0° 0'	17''·139	17''·053
22 30	16 ·679	16 ·777
45 0	16 ·242	16 ·169
67 30	15 ·695	15 ·607
90 0	15 ·332	15 ·394

We thus see that Bessel's theory responded very faithfully to the requirements of nature.

According to the measures of the axes of Saturn, made at the Greenwich Observatory, England, the ellipticity of the planet is 1-9·23d. Measures made by Professor Secchi, of the observatory of the Collegio Romano, on the 25th of April, 1861, give 19''·988 for the equatorial and 18''·024 for the polar diameter of Saturn.* The accuracy of Professor Secchi as an observer, the size of his instrument, and the transparency of the atmosphere in Italy, all concur to render Professor Secchi's measures reliable. These numbers give, for the ellipticity of the planet, 1-10·13th, which differs but little from Bessel's determination. If we suppose Saturn homogeneous, the ellipticity of his surface is to the ellipticity of the earth, supposed homogeneous, inversely as the ratio of the product of the density of the former by the square of the time of rotation, to the product of the density of the latter by the square of the time of rotation.† If we take the ellipticity of the earth at 1-230th, we find that of Saturn to be 1-5·8th; and if we call the ellipticity of the former 1-300th, that of the latter is 1-7·6th. As these values differ considerably from that derived from observation, we conclude that Saturn is not homogeneous in internal structure, but increases in density pretty rapidly from the surface to the centre. When we consider that the mean density of Saturn is only one-eighth of that of the earth, we must conclude that its surface must be composed of materials which with us would be called pretty "light."

The surface density of the earth is about one-half that of its mean density; and, if we suppose the same law to hold with Saturn, we shall find the outside of it to be composed of materials whose mean density is about two-thirds of that of pine wood.

The force of gravity on the surface of Saturn at the

* These measures were communicated to me by Professor Kirkwood in a letter dated February 15, 1865.

† Airy's Mathematical Tracts, p. 150, fourth edition.

equator is a little greater than that of the earth, for bodies fall there 17.6 feet the first second, while on the earth they fall about 16.1 feet. We thus see that, so far as weight is concerned, a person on Saturn would be circumstanced nearly the same as on the earth. Let these things be as they may, we are sure of one thing, namely, that, whatever may be the structure and genius of the Saturnian inhabitants, they *must* be adapted to their circumstances of light, heat, and gravity, and whatever may act upon and influence them on that distant world. We may here observe that many persons seem to think that we must take earthly circumstances as a criterion by which to judge of the adaptation of other worlds to the happiness of the beings that people them; but we must remember that the earth was not adapted to man, but man to the earth. The earth and planets were first formed, and afterwards their inhabitants; and the God of nature could as well adapt a being to Jupiter or Saturn as to the Earth.

The great oblateness of the figure of Saturn indicates a rapid rotary motion, and observation has shown that it revolves on its axis in ten hours twenty-nine minutes and seventeen seconds.*

From observations on the belts of Saturn, Sir William Herschel concluded the planet to be surrounded by an atmosphere, perhaps of considerable density. The belts are generally disposed approximately parallel to the equator of Saturn. Herschel gave considerable attention to their phenomena between the years 1775 and 1780, and he found them continually changing. The variations in the appearance of the belts were such as would characterize an atmospheric fluid. The most constant of these belts is a "grey equatorial stripe." Next to this follow several others, but the forms are variable. They are not always parallel, nor do they extend as far as the poles. The polar regions present a remarkable phenomenon, a change in the reflection of light, which is dependent on Saturn's seasons. In the winter season of the pole, the region is more brightly luminous; and whether this results from the temporary accumulation of ice and snow, or from the increase in the density of the clouds, we must still refer its origin to an atmosphere surrounding the planet. Herschel found the polar regions to change their

* Herschel's *Outlines*, art. 514. Sir Wm. Herschel, from watching a belt, concluded the period to be 10 h. 16 min. 0.44 sec.—*Grant's Hist. of Phys. Ast.*, p. 252.

brightness, increasing or decreasing according as they were turned further from, or nearer to, the direct influence of the solar rays. In 1793, when the south pole had been exposed to the influence of the sun for some time, he perceived that the whole surface around it was of a pale whitish color, much less bright than the rings, and not even equalling, in this respect, the white belts encompassing the equatorial parts of the planet. The north polar region, on the other hand, was of a bright white color. In 1806, the north pole having been for some time illuminated by the sun, the surrounding region had lost much of its lustre, but the south polar region had regained its former brightness. "The latter were now decidedly brighter than the equatorial regions of the planet, as was evident from the appearances they severally exhibited when viewed with a telescope. With a magnifying power of 527, the south polar regions continued to appear very white, while, on the contrary, the regions near the equator assumed a yellowish tinge."* These phenomena indicate the existence of an atmosphere.

Certain phenomena, which Sir William Herschel observed during the occultations of the satellites, also led to the same conclusion. "He found in each instance that the satellite, after coming up to the planet, continued to hang on its limb for some time before it actually vanished." On one occasion *Mimas* was observed by him, to remain in apparent contact with the disk of the planet for the space of twenty minutes. From this we conclude the horizontal refraction of the Saturnian atmosphere at the surface of the planet to amount to 2". Notwithstanding that this small amount is not very conclusive for the existence of an atmosphere, yet it goes to strengthen the conclusion drawn from the other facts above given.

We may add that the bright belts of Saturn, like those of Jupiter,† are very probably clouds floating in the atmosphere of the planet, while the dark bands are where we see through clear sky, and view the comparatively dark body of Saturn:

How complete the knowledge of the Saturnian system was, as observed and described by Christian Huygens, when compared with that developed by Galileo's discovery of the triple configuration of the planet; but how imperfect is Huygen's description of it in his *Systema Saturnium*, when we

* Grant's Hist. Phys. Astronomy, p. 254. † Outlines, art. 513.

compare it with that given by modern astronomers! Huygens, with more powerful telescopes than Galileo possessed, was enabled to complete a discovery begun by the latter, by showing that the triple appearance of the planet, as seen by Galileo, was owing to a ring which completely surrounded it. Huygens made this discovery in 1655, but he did not publish a complete description of all that was then known respecting Saturn, till 1659, when he published his *Systema Saturnium*. In this work, before giving his own views, he enters into an explanation of the various hypotheses which had been put forth to account for the triple appearance which Saturn sometimes presents when viewed with a low telescopic power. Huygens introduces his own theory of the subject by remarking that undoubtedly all the primary bodies of the solar system revolve around fixed axes. He also considers it to be established, by observation, that the rotatory velocity of each primary is more rapid than the orbit motion of any of the smaller bodies revolving around it; and he hence concludes that Saturn and his appendage revolve with a rapid velocity around an axis. From observations carefully conducted, he concludes that nothing but a ring, completely surrounding the planet, will account for all the phenomena observed. According to the custom of the times, he announced his discovery in the form of an anagram, which reads, when the letters are properly placed and translated into English: "The planet is surrounded by a slender flat ring, everywhere distinct from its surface, and inclined to the ecliptic."

The telescope which Huygens employed, did not reveal to him the fact that the ring is double. Two amateur English astronomers, Dr. Ball and Mr. W. Ball, of Minehead, North Devonshire, first noticed the duplicity of the ring in October, 1665, ten years before Dominique Cassini noticed the division.

Huygens originally supposed the plane of the ring to be parallel with the equator, and consequently inclined to the ecliptic under an angle of $23^{\circ} 30'$. He first fixed the longitude of the ascending node in 153° of longitude, and afterwards in $170^{\circ} 30'$. Maraldi the elder first gave a complete theory of the method for determining the elements of the ring. He determined the inclination of the plane of the ring to the plane of the ecliptic, from the passage of the planet through the node of the ring, in 1715, to be $31^{\circ} 20'$, and the longitude of the ascending node $166^{\circ} 17'$.

In 1811, when the ring was very open, Professor Bessel measured, with a micrometer attached to a sixteen-inch telescope by Dolland, the axis of the ellipse formed by the projection of the ring, and he found the inclination to be $28^{\circ} 34'.1$. This measurement differs considerably from the result obtained by Maraldi, which had been in use among astronomers. Subsequent measurements by M. Struve, with Fraunhofer's great refractor, at Dorpat, in 1826, gave for the inclination of the ring $28^{\circ} 5'.9$, with an error not exceeding $6'.4$. A few years afterwards, when Bessel had got possession of a splendid heliometer, he repeated his measurements for determining the elements of the ring. He continued them during a period embraced between the years 1830 and 1834. His final result, after a very thorough discussion, gave $28^{\circ} 10' 44''.7$ for the inclination of the plane of the ring to the plane of the ecliptic, and $166^{\circ} 53' 8''.9$ as the longitude of the ascending node for 1800. He also found that the node of the ring retreats upon the plane of the ecliptic at the rate of $46''.462$ annually, which will cause it to complete a revolution in a retrograde order, if the rate remains uniform in 27 600 years.

Newton's law of universal gravitation showed, many years before the fact was discovered, that the rings of Saturn must rotate about an axis; and Laplace showed that the period could not differ much from ten hours thirty-two minutes. About the same time Sir William Herschel determined the period of rotation, by watching the return of a lucid point to the same position, to be ten hours thirty-two minutes and fifteen seconds. This result, which corresponds so nearly with the above determination of Laplace, deduced from the mechanical conditions which are necessary to the stability of the ring, is a strong proof of the natural growth of the system from a widely extended fluid body. We must not omit to state that several distinguished observers, and among them the late Professor Bond, of Cambridge, Mass., have failed to find any evidence, from observation, of the rotation of the ring. Schroeter and Harding discovered luminous points on the ring, which did not change their position for eight hours together. But we may, perhaps, suppose the fluid of which the rings are probably composed to be accumulated in a certain position in space, and thus be enabled to reflect the light of the sun in a peculiar manner. After the restoration of the equilibrium, the accumulation would be dispersed. It will be worth

while to detail a number of observations which have a bearing on the position of the rings with respect to the centre of the primary, and also on its period of rotation.

In 1826, M. Struve found that the ring is not concentrically situated with respect to the planet. From micrometrical measurements he found the distance from the body of the planet to the outer edge of the ring, on the east side of Saturn, equal to $11''.288$, and on the west side only $11''.073$, giving a difference in the distance equal to $0''.215$.^{*} Struve's observations seemed to show that the eccentric situation of the ring is continually on the same side of the planet. This, if true, would seem to be inconsistent with a rotation of the ring. But there are other observations, made by other observers, that do not accord with this hypothesis.

Sir William Herschel was the first to remark that the ring reflects more light than the body of the planet. He found that he could trace the ring in the part projected on the body of the primary. Cassini found the inner ring to be brighter than the outer one. Sir William Herschel discovered that the brightness of the inner ring gradually diminishes towards the inner edge. Struve also thought that the inner edge of the interior ring is less regular in its construction, and less sharply defined than the outer edge. That the ring is not at all times symmetrical seems to be indicated by the appearance of the ansæ. In 1671, when the ring was about to disappear, Cassini observed the ansæ to contract considerably. He also noticed that one of the ansæ was yet visible, while the other could not be seen. He further remarked, and this is very important, that the visible part was *not always on the same side* of the planet. On the 9th of October, 1714, six days before the passage of the plane of the ring through the earth, Maraldi perceived that the ansæ were reduced to half their ordinary dimensions. The western ansa did not seem to be quite so broad as the eastern. On the 12th of the same month the planet was attended only by the western ansa. On the 29th of November, 1743, Heinsius perceived the eastern ansa to be longer than the western. On the 6th of October, 1773, the planet was observed at Cadiz, with only the western ansa. On the 17th of January, 1774, Messier perceived that the eastern ansa was longer than the western. On the 4th of January, 1803, Harding witnessed the reappearance of the western ansa while the east-

^{*} Humboldt says that the eccentric position was discovered by Schwabe, in September, 1827—*Cosmos*, vol. iv., p. 521, Bohn's edition.

ern one was yet invisible. On the 16th of June of the same year, Schröeter saw the western ansa after the eastern had previously disappeared for some time.

Grant, in commenting on these, says: "It would seem, from these observations, that the western ansa is, in general, more easily seen than the eastern. This fact, although at variance with the alleged rotation of the ring, does not affect the question under consideration, namely, the irregularity of the surface of the ring, which is unequivocally indicated by all the observations. There is another circumstance which abundantly serves to prove that the bounding surfaces of the rings are not composed of parallel planes. If such were the case, it is manifest that the instants of the disappearance and reappearance of the ring would be constantly regulated by the motions of the planet, and a determinate position of the plane of the ring. Bessel found, however, by a strict analytical investigation, that the recorded observations of these phenomena were incompatible with the results derived from the supposition of such a plane. It is impossible, therefore, to admit that the bounding sides of the ring are composed of parallel planes."* The great number of observations which we have cited show that the rings are not at all times symmetrical. Any mechanical theory of the stability of the motion of Saturn's rings must account for these irregularities.

Some observations of Sir William Herschel, in 1807, led him to think that the rings are encompassed by an atmosphere. He observed that the two poles of the planet did not exhibit the same shape. He saw a protuberance about the south pole of the planet which he had not observed on any previous occasion, while the north pole region retained its usual shape. Careful observations satisfied him that the appearance did not arise from any irregularity of the planet's surface. He, therefore, concluded it to be an optical phenomenon, produced by something that did not similarly affect the regions about both poles. He remarked, in reference to this point, that the ring was differently situated with respect to the opposite sides of the equator of Saturn, being behind the planet in the northern hemisphere, and before it in the southern. The rays of light which proceeded from the south polar region of Saturn to the earth passed pretty close to the ring, while those which came from the region in the neighborhood of the north pole traversed an open space

* Hist. Phys. Ast., p. 264.

remote from any external influence. We, therefore, can see, if the ring be surrounded by an atmosphere, that the rays of light issuing from those parts about the south pole would be more or less refracted according to the density of the medium through which they passed, and would thus distort the figure of the planet, similar to the observed protuberance.

To these observations of Sir William Herschel we may add some made by the same astronomer at the time when the rings usually disappear. When the uneulightened side is turned towards the earth, it would be supposed that it would be invisible to us, but Sir William Herschel was able, with his powerful telescope, to perceive the ring. The Rev. W. R. Dawes, in England, and also Professor Bond, with the great refractor at Cambridge, Mass., saw the rings under similar circumstances at the time of the passage of their plane through the earth in 1848-1849. "Now, since it would seem that the edge of the ring is invisible when it is turned directly to the observer," says Mr. Grant, "it ought, *a fortiori*, to be invisible in every other position. Hence it follows that the invisibility of the ring, during the time that its plane was interposed between the earth and the sun, did not arise from the light reflected from its edge. The inference is, therefore, unavoidable, that the ring was visible by means of the surface which was turned away from the sun, for the opposite surface upon which the rays of that luminary directly fell was then turned away from the earth. The observations of Mr. Dawes are especially conclusive with respect to this point. When the plane of the ring was interposed between the earth and the sun (on which occasion the bright side of the ring was turned away from the earth), the ring was still faintly visible; but as the earth continued to approach the plane the ring was seen with greater difficulty, and when it was actually situated in the plane the ring was invisible, even when the planet was viewed with Mr. Lassell's twenty-foot reflector. Now, if the visibility of the ring in the above instance was due to the light reflected by its edge, a succession of appearances the reverse of that indicated by observation ought to have taken place; for, as the earth approached the plane of the ring, the edge of the ring was turned more directly towards the observer, and, therefore, it ought to have been seen with increased facility. That the visibility of the ring, when its plane was interposed between the earth and the sun, was occasioned by light reflected from its obscure surface, and not from its edge, was still further

proved by the observations of Mr. Dawes during the interval when the earth was receding from the plane of the ring; for, in this case, the ring became more and more distinctly visible, according as the elevation of the earth above the plane continued to increase."

The observations which we have given above make known one of the most interesting phenomena connected with the Saturnian system. In explanation of it, Sir William Herschel suggested that it might arise from the light reflected by the planet upon the dark surface of the ring.

The well-known English optician, Short, saw, with a twelve-feet telescope, probably a reflector, two or three divisions in the outer ring, besides the principal division discovered by Ball, before mentioned. In the month of June, 1780, the 19th and 26th, Sir William Herschel saw, with three different reflecting telescopes, a "second black list" upon the ring, close to the inner side. On the 29th he could see nothing of the kind. As Herschel observed with three telescopes, it is not at all probable that what he saw was an optical illusion. In December, 1823, M. Ouetlet, at Paris, saw the *outer* ring divided into two with an achromatic telescope of ten inches aperture. On the 17th of December, 1825, and on the 16th and 17th of January, 1826, Captain Kater saw at least three divisions in the outer ring. He used two Newtonian reflectors, of six and seven inches aperture.

On the 25th of April, 1837, at Berlin, the late Professor Encke saw the outer ring, with perfect distinctness, divided into two nearly equal parts, and he could also see several divisions on the inner edge of the inner ring. He used the great equatorial of the Berlin Observatory, with an achromatic eye-piece. On the 28th of May following, he obtained measures of the position of the division of the outer ring. He found it to be $1^{\circ} 486$ from the outer edge, and $0^{\circ} 716$ from the inner edge of the outer ring.

M. De Vico, with the great achromatic of the observatory of the Collegio Romano, at Rome, saw, on the 29th of May, 1838, besides the two principal rings, three other divisions, one nearly in the middle of the exterior ring, and two in the interior ring. About the time of meridian passage, as many as *six* rings were sometimes distinctly seen.

In the summer of 1841, M. Schwabe, of Dessau, gave particular attention to the phenomena of Saturn's rings. He used a six-feet achromatic, by Fraunhofer. On the 26th of July he thought he saw Encke's division, at least one in

about the same position. On the 10th of August it was just visible in the eastern ansa, and again on the 17th; and on the 10th of September he saw it in the western ansa. He observed thirty days in all, but saw the extra division on four occasions only, as above.

On the 7th of September, 1843, Messrs. Lassell and Dawes, at Starfield, near Liverpool, distinctly saw the outer ring divided into two with a nine-foot Newtonian reflector, nine inches aperture. They used a power of 450. "The outline of the planet was very sharply defined with this power, and the primary division of the ring was very black, and steadily seen all round the southern side. When this was most satisfactorily observed, a dark line was pretty obvious on the outer ring." In 1842 and in 1845, Professor Challis obtained glimpses of an extra division; and in the latter year J. R. Hind obtained a view of Encke's or a similar division on the eastern arm of the ring. At another time afterwards, Dawes and Lassell got a very satisfactory view of a division in the outer ring, but it did not coincide with Encke's division.*

In 1851 another well-authenticated instance of extraordinary divisions of Saturn's rings was observed by several astronomers. A division in the outer ring was seen by Rev. W. R. Dawes, and also by Messrs. Fletcher and Pattinson. It was also seen by Mr. Alvan Clark, in this country. In October, 1851, W. C. Bond, C. W. Tuttle, and R. F. Bond saw several divisions of the old inner ring with the great refractor of the Cambridge Observatory, Massachusetts. The atmosphere was unusually tranquil on the 20th, between the hours of 10 and 11, P. M., and Saturn looked beautiful, and was steady and distinct. "The inner bright ring was minutely subdivided into a large number of small rings, the divisions commencing at the edge next the ball, and extending outwards about two-thirds the breadth." The appearance was compared to that of a series of waves, the summits corresponding to the narrow rings, and the depressions to the divisions. Mr. Dawes saw similar phenomena on the 26th of the same month.†

We have now given a sufficient number of observations to show that the rings of Saturn are sometimes subdivided, but that there is no definite place where the divisions occur.

* See Gould's *Astronomical Journal*, vol. ii., pp. 5-6; also Hind's *Solar System*, pp. 151-152.

† Gould's *Astronomical Journal*, ii., p. 112.

Since the best observers do not always see these divisions under favorable circumstances, it is pretty evident that they do not always exist, at least of sufficient magnitude to be visible to us at this great distance. Any mechanical theory of the dynamical equilibrium of the rings must account for the occasional subdivisions of them.

So early as 1837 or 1838, it appears that Dr. Galli observed a gradual shading off of the inner edge of the interior bright ring, and that he published measures of it in the Transactions of the Berlin Academy for 1838; but the discovery excited but little attention. On the 11th of November, 1850, Messrs. Bond, of Cambridge, discovered a new dusky ring of Saturn, interior to the inner bright ring. On the 26th and 29th of the same month, Rev. W. R. Dawes also saw the new ring. This last astronomer not only saw the new ring, but he saw that it was divided by a very fine line. By numerous measures he found the distance from the inner edge of the inner bright ring to the inner edge of the dusky ring equal to $1''\cdot94$.

Since the discovery of this new dusky ring, some very interesting observations have been made. During the years 1852, 1854, and 1855, Professor Bond, of the Cambridge Observatory, found that the ball can be seen through the rings, and that consequently they are translucent. He also found that the rings are of different colors in different places, the equatorial regions being white, the temperate regions reddish, and the polar regions bluish. Professor Bond says that the shadow of the ball upon the ring can be seen upon both sides of it, being rather faint on one side, but on the other quite decided. He first noticed this anomalous appearance in October, 1852. He was unable to give any satisfactory account of it, nor of the singular shape of the shadow, the convexity of it being towards the ball, instead of the contrary, as might be expected.*

If the various measures of the dimensions of Saturn's rings are reliable, they would seem to show that the inner edges of the rings are approaching the surface of the planet. It is not known that the outer diameter of the ring has varied since the discovery of the latter by Huygens; but according to the following measures it would seem that the inner diameter is contracting as already mentioned: Huygens, in 1657, made the distance between the ball and the ring, $6''\cdot5$;

* Annual of Scientific Discovery for 1857, pp. 373, 374.

Huygens and Cassini, in 1695, made it $6''$; in 1719, Bradley made it $5''.4$; Herschel, in 1799, $5''$; Struve the elder, in 1826, $4''.36$; Encke and Galli, in 1838, $4''.04$; and Otto Struve, in 1851, $3''.67$. At this rate of decrease, Professor Peirce estimates that the ring will be destroyed in some part, in seventy years from this time (1866).*

Can it be, then, that we are to witness the destruction of this beautiful appendage of the planet Saturn? Can it be that a ring whose existence for so many ages has not been endangered is to be destroyed within three-quarters of a century? We think not. It is a case perfectly analogous to others in the solar system, that the perturbations of the ring should cause it both to contract and expand its dimensions. As yet the laws of these mutations have not been discovered; but from the triumphs of Newton's law of gravitation in other parts of the solar system, we have every reason to believe that the laws regulating the motions of Saturn's rings will one day be made known by the industry of the astronomer and the skill of the mathematician. The problem is, indeed, one of extreme difficulty, and none but the masters are prepared to attempt it. Professor Peirce has revealed more of the true laws of the mutation of the rings than any other geometer that has attempted the solution of the problem.

We have already mentioned the observations of Herschel, Dawes, and Bond, showing that the rings can be seen when the dark side is turned towards the earth. Since the rings are translucent, is it not sufficient to account for the visibility of the dark side of the rings? We have already shown that the rings are the more distinctly visible the higher the earth is above their plane, or the less obliquely the rays of light proceed from the surface of the rings. This is just what we should expect if the rays proceed from the sun through the rings. According to this view, then, we are not under the necessity of supposing the rings to be encompassed with an atmosphere, to account for the phenomenon of the visibility of the unilluminated side of the rings.

Maxwell says† that some observations seem to show that the rays of light not only pass through the dusky ring, but they appear to suffer no refraction and consequently they must pass *between* the particle of the ring. But if the ring

* Annual of Scientific Discovery for 1856, p. 380.

† Essay on the Stability of the Motions of Saturn's Rings, p. 2.

be very rare or very thin, or both, as observations seem to indicate, since the ring is incapable of reflecting much light, the ball seen through the ring might, perhaps, not be much distorted.

Having reviewed our knowledge respecting the rings of Saturn so far as it is deduced from observation, we may now ask, By what natural mechanism are they sustained around the planet? Notwithstanding a multiplicity of other labors that more immediately demanded his attention, Laplace found time to give some thought to the theory of Saturn's rings. Until within the last few years, it was supposed that they were solid bodies surrounding the planet. Accordingly Laplace sought for the conditions of dynamical equilibrium of solid rings. One of the first conditions required is that the rings be possessed of a rotatory motion that will develop a centrifugal force sufficient to counteract the attractive influences of the primary.

If we imagine a homogeneous fluid spread around Saturn in the form of a ring of which the generating curve is an ellipse, analysis shows that it will be in equilibrium, when acted upon by the mutual attraction of its particles, their gravitation towards the primary, and their centrifugal force, if the magnitude of the ellipse be small in comparison with its distance from the centre of Saturn, and the greater axis of the generating curve be directed towards the centre of the primary. The duration of the rotation of the ring is nearly the same as that of a satellite moved circularly at the distance of the centre of the generating ellipse. Laplace found this period for the inner ring to be about ten hours thirty-two minutes, as before mentioned.

The equilibrium of such a ring, however, would not be stable, for the slightest disturbing force would throw it from its balance, and it would finally be precipitated upon the planet.*

The equilibrium would also exist if the generating ellipse were variable in size and position to some extent. Laplace thus concludes that the rings may be of unequal breadth in different parts, and consequently that they are irregular solids. Had he discussed this part of the theory more thoroughly, he would have seen, as we shall see further on, that any form of a solid ring would be inconsistent with the conditions of dynamical equilibrium.

* *Mécanique Céleste*, bk. iii., ch. vi.

By conceiving the rings divided into small satellites, we may imagine them disturbed by each other, the sun, and the satellites of Saturn; and thus they ought to oscillate around the centre of the primary, and their nodes, where their plane intersects that of the planet's orbit, should have a retrograde motion; but, owing to the mutual connection of the different parts of the system, this motion should be slow, as found by Bessel. Laplace has shown that, on account of the oblateness of the figure of Saturn, the plane of the rings will follow that of the planet's equator through all its changes of position due to the disturbing action of the other heavenly bodies.* The connection of the different parts of the Saturnian system will cause all changes of position to be slow; for the primary, the rings, and the first six satellites must all move at the same time.

These deductions of Laplace, which for some years seemed to be confirmed by observation, were adopted by the astronomers until the middle of the present century, when the powerful telescopes now in use failed to show the irregularities in the rings which his theory requires, and some doubt began to be entertained of the solid nature of the rings. Professor George P. Bond, of the Cambridge observatory, was the first to attack the problem.

In his treatise on the subject in Gould's *Astronomical Journal*,† Mr. Bond supposes several narrow rings to exist, and shows that the spaces unoccupied by matter, taken together, cannot be large, not exceeding four-hundredths of the breadth of the rings, otherwise the shadow on the ball would not be so black as it is. He next considers the attractions of several narrow rings, and, in making an application of his results, he first considers the case of a single ring, and finds that he is obliged to increase its attractive power sixty times its probable value to retain particles on its surface. He next divides the ring into two, and finds the rotatory motion necessary to retain particles on the inner ring too rapid to be admitted. By trying different values, he finds it necessary to diminish the width of the rings so far, that the unoccupied area will nearly equal their area, a result which could not be admitted. He next supposes eleven rings to exist, and finds it necessary to increase their density to three times that of Saturn. He also finds that "a density six times that of Saturn would just suffice to retain the particles on the sur-

* *Méc. Cé.*, bk., ch. iii.

† Vol. ii., pp 5-10.

face of the inner ring." Mr. Bond then sums up the various cases of disturbance and instability, and concludes that a solid ring cannot be permanently retained about the primary.

He then infers that "the hypothesis that the whole ring is in a fluid state, or at least does not cohere strongly, presents fewer difficulties." This supposition, he states, will account for the occasional divisions in the rings. He further adds that a "fluid ring, *symmetrical* in its dimensions, is not of necessity in a state of unstable equilibrium with reference either to Saturn or to the other rings."*

These observations and deductions of Mr. Bond had the effect of calling forth to the subject the great mathematical powers of Professor Peirce, of Harvard University. He communicated a paper upon it to the American Academy on the 15th of April, 1851, and it was also published in Gould's *Astronomical Journal*.† He did not publish the mathematical formulæ, but simply a statement of the results to which he had been led, and a general explanation of the principles of procedure. We need here do little more than state the results to which he arrived respecting the constitution and equilibrium of solid rings.

He says that "there is no conceivable form of irregularity, and no combination of irregularities, consistent with an actual ring, which would serve to retain it permanently about the primary, if it were solid." Professor Peirce took into consideration both the motion of rotation on its axis and that of revolution around the sun. He found it to be the former phenomenon which deprives the irregularity, to which Laplace referred, of its sustaining power. After giving some illustrations of the destroying tendency of the disturbing forces to which the ring would be subject, he concludes that "a solid ring would soon be destroyed, and that Saturn's ring must, therefore, be fluid. It consists, in short of a stream, or, rather, of streams, of a fluid somewhat denser than water, flowing around the planet."

If the rings be fluid, it is quite evident that they cannot be gaseous, for it seems impossible that a gaseous ring so thin as Saturn's are known to be, would sustain itself in so compressed a state with such small dimensions. These considerations led him to conclude that the rings must be of the

*This discussion of Professor Bond was published in May, 1851, in the *Astronomical Journal*, but it was read before the American Academy in April previous.

† Vol. ii., pp. 17-19

nature of a liquid. He found, as a first approximation, that the number of narrow rings, into which the disturbing forces might separate the wide ring, is twenty-four, which he considers to be the maximum limit.

He arrived at this important result, viz., that the motion of the centre of gravity of the ring is not controlled by the primary. The attraction of Saturn prevents the individual particles from flying apart, and keeps them in the form of a ring, but it does not influence their motion as one body. We thus see that there is nothing in the direct action of the primary to prevent the ring from moving forward in its own plane, in any direction and to any distance, until, at last, the ring would be brought into collision with the surface of the planet, and thus be destroyed.

The ring being fluid, we know from the theory of gravitation that the greater the distance from the primary the slower must be the velocity of its current. There will, therefore, be an accumulation of fluid in these parts to balance the slower motion or greater distance, and Professor Peirce found, by an accurate calculation, that the accumulation of fluid just compensates the greater distance; so that the attraction of the ring on the primary is the same in all its parts. The general principle of the conservation of areas must be satisfied by the ring in all its motions. This principle, arrived at by Professor Peirce, is of high importance, for it showed him why other members of the solar system than Saturn do not possess a ring. He saw that the existence of the ring depends on the attraction of the satellites. The satellites constantly disturb the motions of the ring, but it is thus sustained in dynamical equilibrium around the planet, in the very act of perturbation.

We may illustrate this as follows: We know that geometers have established the fact that, whatever be the character of the other perturbations of the planets, the mean distance remains constantly the same. If we regard each particle of the ring as a satellite, disturbed in the usual way by the others, we see that the mean distance will not be altered. The eccentricity will only increase and decrease within certain limits; but as different particles will be in different situations with respect to each other, these, by the mutual pressure of the different parts of the ring, will be reduced to a mean state which will have its own period of increase and diminution. We thus see that the rings of Saturn are sustained by a feeble power, but since the pri-

mary has no effect to disturb or sustain them in their motions, if no foreign body interfere, the satellites, we may reasonably conclude, will sustain the rings indefinitely.

In the fourth volume of Gould's *Astronomical Journal*,* Professor Peirce has commenced the solution of the "Adams Prize Problem for 1856." He has discussed the case of a solid and commenced the discussion of the case of a fluid ring; but as the results are the same as those which we have already given in the preceding pages, we need here only say that his paper, so far as he has carried the discussion, is characterized by elegance and brevity, like the other productions of the same author.

The "Adams Prize" for 1856 was carried off by J. Clerk Maxwell, M.A., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. The problem proposed was the "Motions of Saturn's Rings." They allowed the subject to be discussed under three heads: 1st, A solid ring; 2d. A fluid ring; and 3d. A ring composed of particles not mutually coherent. His solution, in certain respects, is less adapted to the Saturnian system than that of Professor Peirce: both agree that a solid ring is unstable.

Professor Maxwell finds that one case of a solid ring could revolve permanently about the primary, viz., that in which the ring is loaded in one place with a heavy particle equal in weight to four and a half times the weight of the remaining part of the ring, or two hundredths of the whole. This, we may add, is quite inconsistent with our ideas of an actual ring. Besides, we know that an irregularity in structure so great as the conditions of equilibrium require, if the density be approximately uniform, would be easily visible with our great telescopes. Again, if we suppose the density of the ring at the loaded part to be sufficiently great to account for the relatively great mass of such part, and yet leave the ring symmetrical in form, we know that it would be out of all analogy with other parts of nature. He also found that the distance between the centre of the rings and its centre of gravity is between 0.8158 and 0.8279 of the radius of the ring.

The author sums up the theory of a solid ring in the following words: "When we consider the immense size of the rings, and their comparative thinness, the absurdity of treating them as rigid bodies becomes self-evident. An iron

* pp. 110-112.

ring of such a size would be not only plastic, but semi-fluid, under the forces which it would experience, and we have no reason to believe these rings to be artificially strengthened with any material unknown on this earth."

We come now to consider Professor Maxwell's theory of a ring of equal satellites. In this case he found that the disturbances could be propagated around the ring in the form of waves. The equilibrium of the rings depends on the magnitude and relative length of the waves. He reduced the mathematical principles of equilibrium to an equation of the fourth degree. When the four roots of this equation are real, the disturbance can be propagated in waves, but if any of the roots are imaginary, the ring is rapidly destroyed. A ring of unequal satellites gave results nearly the same.

In the case of an annular cloud of meteoric stones, he found the average density to be rarer than common air, though the density of the particles may be very great. Such a ring cannot revolve as a whole, but the inner parts must have a greater angular velocity than the outer.

In considering the case of a fluid ring, he supposed it composed of an incompressible fluid. Here the disturbance is propagated in the form of waves, different suppositions giving waves of different lengths. "Applying these results," he says, "to the case of the ring, we find that it will be destroyed by the long waves unless the fluid is less than $1/42d$ of the density of the planet, and that in all cases the short waves will break up the ring into small satellites." He also found that narrow rings would be broken up into small satellites, and that these satellites would come into collision so as to unite and form a smaller number of larger bodies, "which may be capable of revolving as a permanent ring."

We shall give the final conclusion of Professor Maxwell's theory in his own words. "We conclude, therefore," he says, "that the rings must consist of disconnected particles; these may be either solid or liquid, but they must be independent. The entire system of rings must, therefore, consist either of a series of many concentric rings, each moving with its own velocity, and having its own system of waves, or else of a confused multitude of revolving particles, not arranged in rings, and continually coming into collision with one another."

We may here add that this result to which Professor Maxwell arrives does not very well accord with what observa-

tion reveals respecting the appearance of the rings. The supposition that they are fluid and sustained by the attraction of the satellites, according to Professor Peirce's conclusion, better represents the divided appearance which they present *only* sometimes. We may also add that Professor Maxwell's theory does not account for the *existence* of the rings as Professor Peirce's does. Both geometers have made use of the potential function, but Professor Peirce has made a much more elegant use of it than Professor Maxwell.

Since Professor Maxwell's analysis requires the particles composing the rings to be disconnected and independent, we may be permitted to enquire into the probability of their being solid, or somewhat of the nature of loose sand. If they are composed of solid particles like sand or gravel, we may ask how was it possible for them to become so? On earth, before matter can attain to such a condition, it must first become a solid mass, and then be worn down by abrading forces, such as water. But it is clearly impossible for Saturn's rings to become solid and then to be worn down and reduced to loose particles, since the motion of a solid ring is unstable, and it would, therefore, be destroyed by coming in contact with the primary, before it could be reduced to loose particles by the forces acting on it. We may add that it is the almost universal conclusion of geologists that the earth was once a liquid mass and that it assumed its present form when in that state. What is true of the earth we have good reason to believe is true of all the planets. We are hence obliged to exclude from our theory the idea that the rings are composed of solid, unconnected particles.

If the rings of Saturn were ever fluid, we can account for their remaining so without introducing into our theory any unstable element. Suppose the rings were once gaseous, and abandoned by the primary in its process of cooling and condensation; at least, so long as they remained fluid, they would be sustained by the attraction of the satellites (according to Professor Peirce). In order that the dynamical equilibrium of the rings might be maintained, a continual change in the position of the particles composing the rings would take place, and this mechanical action would necessarily develop heat, so that the rings would cool but slowly; and the greater the density of the fluid, the greater would be the mechanical action, and the slower would the cooling process go on. In this way, an equilibrium would probably

be ultimately reached, so that the liquid condition of the rings would thus be maintained. Since Professor Maxwell did not take into account the action of the satellites, his solution is necessarily incomplete, and seems to require impossible conditions among the particles of the ring in order that the rings may exist as such. If we regard the rings as composed of disconnected particles of fluid, it is difficult to see how these particles are going to meet (and meet they certainly would) without running together.

Professor Peirce's discovery that the rings of Saturn are maintained as such by the attraction of the satellites in its bearing on the genesis of the solar system is one of the grandest of modern times. As Professor T. H. Safford says: "What the Saturnian system wants, above all things, is more observations;" and we may ask why astronomers who have the use of powerful telescopes do not give more attention to an object that possesses so much interest? Much attention is given to the subject of nebulae to the neglect of many things connected with the different members of the planetary system. At present nebulae are almost beyond the reach of analysis, while we are much in want of *facts* to complete and verify our theory of the rings of Saturn. Would it not be well to divide the powerful instruments between the solar system and the sidereal heavens?

But little can be said of the satellites of Saturn beyond what is usually given in elementary works on astronomy. The planet being at so remote a distance from us, the satellites appearing in the immediate vicinity of the planet are difficult to observe. Indeed, one of them escaped detection until 1848, notwithstanding the scrutiny to which the system was subjected by Sir William Herschel for several years.

As the order of discovery of the satellites is not that of distance, there was always some confusion respecting the nomenclature by which they were known. To remedy this, Sir John Herschel, in 1847, proposed a series of mythological names to distinguish them; and as the new satellite discovered in 1848 by Bond and Lassell has received such a name, we presume that hereafter they will be known by the names given them by Sir John. Commencing with the satellite next to the primary, and proceeding outwards according to the order of distance, the names are: Mimas, Enceladus, Tethys, Dione, Rhea, Titan, Hyperion, and Japetus.

Japetus exhibits singular fluctuations of brightness in different parts of its orbit, becoming invisible in one part

of its orbit to all but the more powerful telescopes. As this always occurs when the satellite is in a particular place in its orbit with respect to the sun, it is concluded that one part of its surface reflects the solar light very imperfectly, and that the satellite rotates on its axis in the same time in which it completes a revolution around the primary, as is the case with the moon. This and some other facts render it highly probable that it is a law of the secondaries that they complete their axial rotation and revolution around the primary in the same time.

Sir John Herschel says of Titan, that it "is by far the largest and most conspicuous of all, and is probably not much inferior to Mars in size. It is the only one of the number whose theory and perturbations have been at all inquired into further than to verify Kepler's law of the periodic times."* According to the investigations of Professor Bessel, the apsides of this satellite have a direct motion of $30' 28''$ per annum in longitude reckoned on the ecliptic. This will cause them to complete a revolution in about seven hundred years. The magnitude of Japetus is next to that of Titan. As yet, however, our knowledge of the magnitude of the satellites is very imperfect.

The eclipses of the satellites, owing to the great inclination of the plane of their orbits to the plane of Saturn's orbit, can only take place (except the two innermost) when near the time the ring is seen edgewise, the orbits of the satellites, except the outermost, coinciding with the plane of the rings. Owing to the difficulty of observing the eclipses, they can only be seen with powerful telescopes, and they are hence of no practical utility for determining longitude as Jupiter's satellites are. Occultations of the satellites were occasionally observed by Sir William Herschel by means of his great telescopes; and one satellite has been seen to eclipse, or approach so near another that no light could be seen between them. In 1759 the same astronomer saw the interior satellites projected on the edge of the ring, at the time the earth was in the plane of the ring. On the 2d of November of the same year, Herschel witnessed a transit of the shadow of Titan over the disk of the primary. It appeared as a dark spot—darker than the equatorial belt.

Some years ago Sir John Herschel pointed out some cases of near commensurability of the periods of four of the satellites of Saturn. "The period of the third (Tethys) is

* Outlines of Astronomy, art. 548.

double that of the first (Mimas), and that of the fourth (Dione) double that of the second (Enceladus). The coincidence is exact in either case to about 1-800th part of the larger period.* These will give rise to perturbations whose periods will be of considerable length. 'The only other known instances of such a relationship is that of the first three satellites of Jupiter. If we suppose a satellite whose period is 11h. 18m. 14s., and whose mean daily motion is consequently 2751618''·1828, the celebrated proposition of Laplace in regard to the first three satellites of Jupiter would be applicable to Tethys, Mimas, and this hypothetical satellite. The mean distance of such a body as we have supposed is, by Kepler's third law, 2·1162. The distance of the middle of the outer ring is, according to Struve, 2·0950, or, according to Encke, 2·1257. The distance of the theoretical satellite it will be observed, is intermediate between these determinations. Such a relationship as we have been considering may, therefore, become established should the outer ring be transformed into a satellite. Is the latter event in any degree probable?† In discussing the theory of the rings and satellites this relationship ought not to be neglected.

ART. III.—1. *Heinrich Heine's Sämmtliche Werke*. (The Complete Works of HENRY HEINE.) 6 vols. Hamburg, 1865.

2. *Histoire Littéraire de l'Allemagne*. Par JULIEN SCHMIDT. Paris, 1860.

3. *Feuilles pour la Conversation Littéraire*. Par H. MARGRAFF, Paris, 1863.

4. *The Poems of Heine complete*; translated in the Original Metres, with a Sketch of Heine's Life. By EDGAR ALFRED BOWRING. London, 1864.

5. *Heinrich Heine's Pictures of Travel*. Translated from the German. By CHARLES GODFREY LELAND. Philadelphia, Fredrick Leypoldt, 1863.

6. *Heine's Book of Songs*. Translated by C. G. LELAND. New York, Leypoldt, 1864.

IN no foreign country ought the literature of Germany receive more attention than in the United States, since, in

* Outlines, art. 560.

† We have made this quotation from an unpublished paper by Professor Daniel Kirkwood, which the author has had the kindness to permit us to read. Laplace's proposition, when applied to the Saturnian system as in the text, is, the mean motion of the hypothetical satellites plus twice the mean motion of Tethys are equal to three times the mean motion of Mimas.

addition to the ties of kindred to the Germans which we possess in common with the English, we have those of fellow-citizenship with a large, increasing class, who, speaking no other language than the German, can be fully understood in their social, moral, and political aspirations and tendencies only through the literature of the Fatherland. We should also bear in mind that a large proportion of our native merchants, lawyers, physicians, and clergymen are the immediate descendants of Germans, and are still strongly Teutonic, although, perhaps, they no longer speak the dialect of their fathers. For one of either class to be found in England there are at least a hundred in this country; but the numbers in both countries who study German literature are in an inverse ratio to each other; that is, one hundred Englishmen make themselves acquainted with the characteristics of the German intellect for one American who does so.

Did no such ties as those we have spoken of exist, it would be neither to our interest nor to our credit that this state of things should continue, for German literature is worth studying for its own sake. It is not, indeed, as attractive as either French or English literature, but it is at least as rich and powerful in thought. None who have any knowledge of even two or three of the philosophers and discoverers of Germany, not to mention its poets, historians, and critics, will withhold their assent from this. Kepler, Leibnitz, Kant and Humboldt would have vindicated the German intellect had Goethe, Schiller, Klopstock, Herder, Lessing, &c., never existed; for the important ideas and facts brought to light by those illustrious thinkers have contributed more to the enlightenment of the present century than those of any equal number of authors of their time belonging to any other country.

Yet how many German works have had any extensive circulation in this country? Even Goethe has been read only by the select few; nor has Schiller fared much better at our hands. It is a singular fact that the German author who has met with the best reception in this country is the one who is the least German in thought and sentiment; nay, the one who, of all modern writers, is the most bitterly anti-Germanic. To this we need hardly add that we mean Heinrich Heine, the character of whose works and intellect we intend to examine, though but briefly, in the present article.

We do not choose this subject, however, for the purpose

of discouraging the reading of Heine's writings; although they contain not a little which is highly objectionable in various points of view. It is much more our purpose to cause him to be well understood, so far as we can contribute to that end. Nor have we any intention of disparaging his genius; on the contrary, none are more willing to admire what is admirable in his productions; none less disposed to deny that there is genuine inspiration in his poetry. Sometimes he is most witty and characteristic when he is most objectionable in other respects; but as we are not afraid that the religion or morals of our readers rest on so feeble a foundation that they can be undermined by the jokes or sarcasms of Heine, we shall endeavor to do him full justice, rejecting no characteristic specimen merely because it contains some hints or allusions which would cause a certain class of old ladies to blush if they had any blushes left.

But before we make any particular observations on the works of Heine, let us glance at the circumstances in which he was placed in early life, and see what were the influences brought to bear upon him. He was born of Jewish parents at Dusseldorf, in 1797; but little is known of his friends, except that his uncle, Solomon Heine, was very wealthy, and as liberal and philanthropic as he was wealthy. He contributed more than all other citizens of Hamburg to save the credit of that city after the great fire of 1842. He enabled the principal bank to continue payments during the whole revulsion caused by the conflagration, and he placed nearly a million of dollars at the disposal of the government, so that it might be able to afford immediate relief to those reduced to destitution by the same calamity. He founded several charitable institutions, including hospitals, for poor Christians of different denominations, as well as for Israelites. Indeed, the numerous generous acts which he performed for the benefit of his fellow-citizens would seem fabulous were they not fully attested by official documents. But for all his goodness he was never allowed the rights of a citizen, nor would the Chamber of Commerce accept him as a member, although duly elected, merely because he was an Israelite. We mention these facts, not because they show how bigotedly intolerant the so-called free city of Hamburg was at this time, even to its greatest benefactor, but because it is more than probable that they had considerable influence in prejudicing the young poet against all religion. Be this as it may, he soon abandoned the Jewish faith, and declared himself a convert to Lutheranism.

Although his father was by no means rich, he spared no expense to secure him a thorough education; and accordingly he studied in turn at the universities of Bohn, Berlin, and Göttingen. At Bohn he became the pupil of Augustus Schlegel, who immediately became his friend, and contributed not a little to develop his taste for poetry. From Bohn he went to Berlin, where he became the pupil of Hegel, and studied his philosophy with avidity. Hegel brought to his notice the works of Spinoza, and introduced him to several of his pantheistic friends. Whatever were his intentions when he abjured Judaism and embraced Protestantism, his intercourse with Hegel and those of his school soon determined the course he was to take. Speaking of this himself in 1852, he says: "My ancestors belonged to the Jewish religion, but I was never proud of this descent; neither did I ever set store upon my quality of Lutheran although I belong to the evangelical confession quite as much as the greatest devotees amongst my Berlin enemies, who always reproach me with a want of religion. I rather felt humiliated at passing for a purely human creature—I whom the philosophy of Hegel led to suppose was a God. How proud I then was of my divinity! What an idea I had of my grandeur! Alas! that charming time has long passed away, and I cannot think of it without sadness, now that I am lying stretched on my back, while my disease is making terrible progress."

But if Hegel taught him a bad system of religion he introduced him to several of the celebrities of his time—to Grabbe, Bopp, Tieck, Chamisso, Varnhagen von Ense, and several others. In 1822 he published his first collection of poems under the title of *Gedichte* (Poems), but the book attracted no attention. Probably not a dozen copies of that edition were ever sold. It mortified him so much to see how utterly he failed, after himself and several of his friends had predicted the most brilliant success for the collection—Madame Herz and Madame Levin comparing several of the poems to the happiest efforts of Goethe and Schiller—that he resolved at once to leave Berlin, and hide his chagrin in the recesses of Göttingen University. Here he devoted himself with the utmost assiduity to the study of law, and received the degree of Doctor in 1825; and those who knew him best assure us that for a time he abandoned all idea of becoming a poet. Once more, however, he permitted himself to be persuaded that he possessed true inspiration; accord-

ingly, he returned to Berlin and published his only two plays "Almanzor," and "Ratcliff," which, if possible, attracted still less attention than his poems. This, indeed, cannot be wondered at, for they are of a very inferior order; they are neither good for the stage nor for the closet, although each contains a brilliant, lively passage, here and there. In short they are just such productions as might have been expected from one who had lost confidence in his own abilities, and who, therefore, wrote in a half-careless way, under the impression that they were more likely to fail than to succeed. Still he was unwilling to believe that he had no genius, but inclined to think that it was the public who were to blame for his want of success, not he. "The Protestants of Northern Germany," he said to his friend Hegel, "are too cold and too dull; the Catholics of the south will appreciate me better; they are the best sort of people after all; they have much more feeling than the Lutherans; in short, they are more natural."* To this Hegel assented, though not without making disparaging remarks as usual on all Christian sects; and Heine resolved at once to remove to Munich. He was warmly received in the Catholic city as a scholar and man of taste; but the Catholics proved to have as little admiration for his poems and plays as the Protestants, and accordingly he soon became as much disgusted with the former as he had been with the latter.

These incidents, though trifling in themselves, are worth noting, because they shed considerable light on the motives of Heine; they serve to show how one, naturally kind and warm-hearted, but sensitive and proud, may be led to misanthropy; and it may be doubted whether there was ever a misanthropist who was not also an enemy to religion. But we have the testimony of Heine himself on this subject. In one of his letters to Madame Herz he says that, when he first took a dislike to the Jewish religion, the Catholic was that which he thought he would adopt, but that he was prevented from doing so by a quarrel which he had with a priest, who spoke rather freely to him in regard to certain sins that were too attractive for one of his temperament to avoid. "To my surprise," he says, "I found the Lutheran divines much more indulgent; and it is but natural that we should prefer those who allow us most liberty."† But whatever caused him to dislike all religious sects, it

* Hist. lit. de l'Allemagne, par J. Schmidt.

† Mouvement lit. de l'Allemagne, par J. Duesberg.

seems that he was not many months in Munich when he began to ask himself whether after all he had not mistaken his mission. On this subject he wrote a desponding letter to his friend Brentano in 1822, telling him that he was half-resolved to throw his pen aside forever. "I understand you," writes his friend, "and you have my warmest sympathy; but do not yield so easily. Perhaps you had better not write any in your present state of mind; in the meantime I would travel if I were you."* This suggested to Heine a new train of thought; and he immediately decided on visiting Italy. This was undoubtedly the best resolution he ever formed; those who had expected most good from the tour were surprised at its results; and perhaps none was more so than Heine himself. The "Reisebilder," or "Pictures of Travel," not only made the author famous at once throughout Europe, but its appearance proved to be the beginning of a new era in German literature.†

It was published at Hamburg in four volumes, and issued consecutively, one at a time, at unequal intervals between 1825 and 1831. No other work of its kind can be compared to it, although some of the greatest authors of modern times, English, French, Italian, and German, had given the world their "pictures of travel" in poetry and prose long before Heine was born. His are certainly the most life-like, the most brilliant, and the most interesting. All the various characteristics of his mind are faithfully represented in the "Reisebilder;" throughout this work he is alternately pathetic and sarcastic, gay and sad, ironical and frank, censorious and appreciative; turning from prose to poetry and from poetry to prose with a facility and power that command our admiration even when we can neither approve his sentiments nor his motives. Yet it is the boldness and severity with which he attacks friend and foe alike that have contributed most to render the book famous; although there are many of those attacks which show that, if he was not utterly insensible to kindness, he had certainly but little gratitude; for he does not spare even his teachers, those who not only gave him all the aid in their power to attain the success for which he was ambitious, but also exercised the influence of their friends in his behalf.

* *Mouvement lit. de l'Allemagne*, par J. Duesberg.

† "Ce livre," says M. Mœurer, "eut un succès éclatant. Dans un style à la fois simple et piquant, l'auteur y raconte ses impressions de voyage, en les mêlant d'observations très fines et spirituelles; mais non sans se laisser aller parfois à cette crudité de sentiments ironiques qui dépare presque tous ses ouvrages."

No regular plan is observed in the "Pictures of Travel." It is a sort of common-place book in which the author gives his impressions freely on all subjects as they suggest themselves, treating them in poetry or prose according as he feels in the vein for one or the other, or according as they seem poetical in their nature or prosaic. Another very attractive feature in the work is that he is as communicative in it in regard to himself as he is in regard to either his friends or his foes; in the form of little scraps here and there he gives us his full autobiography, mingling with it, in the happiest manner, the impressions which he received at different periods of his life from those with whom he was surrounded; his earliest as well as latest neighbors and friends. But let us note an instance or two in passing: "I first saw the light," he says, "on the banks of that beautiful stream where folly grows on the green hills, and in autumn is plucked, pressed, poured into casks, and sent into foreign lands. Believe me, I yesterday heard some one utter folly which, anno 1811, lay in a bunch of grapes I then saw growing on the Johannisberg. I am again a child, and am playing with other children on the Satlosplatz. There was I born; and I expressly note this in case that, after my death, seven cities—Schilda, Krähwinkel, Bockum, Polkinitz, Dülken, Göttingen, Schaffenstadt—should contend for the honor of being my birth-place. Düsseldorf is a town on the Rhine; sixteen thousand people live there, and many hundred thousand lie buried there.*

He ridicules his countrymen everywhere; nor does he spare his countrywomen. Even the university in which he received the best part of his education does not escape his sarcasms; he treats professors and students alike, as if all had been his natural enemies. Thus he begins his description of the town of Göttingen by telling us that it is "celebrated for its sausages and university, belongs to the King of Hanover, and contains nine hundred and ninety-nine dwellings, divers churches, a lying-in asylum, an observatory, a prison, a library, and a council-cellar, *where the beer is excellent.*" Speaking of the boasted antiquity of the town, he says: "It must be very ancient, for I well remember that five years ago it had already the same grey, old-fashioned wise look, and was fully furnished with beggars, beadles, dissertations, tea parties with a little dancing, washwoman compendiums, roasted pigeons, Guelphic orders, professors ordi-

* Reisebilder, p. 178.

nary and extraordinary, pipe-heads, court-counsellors and law-counsellors."* He then proceeds, in the same sarcastic strain, to speculate on the origin of the population. "Many even assert that at the time of the great migration of races every German tribe left a *badly corrected proof* of its existence in the town, in the person of one of its members, and that from these descended all the Vandals, Frisians, Suabians, Teutons, Saxons, Thuringians, and others who at the present day abound in Göttingen, where, separately distinguished by the color of their caps or pipe-tassels, they may be seen straying, single or in hordes, along the Weender street."† A little further on he enters into particulars thus: "The inhabitants of Göttingen are generally and socially divided into students, professors, Philistines, and *cattle*, the points of difference between these castes being by no means strictly defined. The cattle class is the most important."‡ When he has disposed after this fashion of his friends the professors, students, and Philistines, he turns his attention to the ladies, taking care in doing so to enjoy a laugh at the expense of the historian of the place:

"More accurate information of the town of Göttingen may be very conveniently obtained from its 'Topography,' by K. F. H. Marx. Though entertaining the most sacred regard for its author, who was my physician, and manifested for me much esteem, still I cannot pass by his work with altogether unconditional praise, inasmuch as he has not with sufficient zeal combated the erroneous opinion that the ladies of Göttingen have *not* enormous feet. On this point I speak authoritatively, having for many years been earnestly occupied with a refutation of this opinion. To confirm my views I have not only studied comparative anatomy, and made copious extracts from the rarest works in the library, but have also watched for hours, in the Weender street, the feet of the ladies as they walked by. In the fundamentally erudite treatise which forms the result of these studies, I speak, *firstly*, of feet in general; *secondly*, of the feet of antiquity; *thirdly*, of elephants' feet; *fourthly*, of the feet of the Göttingen ladies; *fifthly*, I collect all that was ever said in Ulrich's Garden on the subject of female feet; *sixthly*, I regard feet in their connection with each other, availing myself of the opportunity to extend my observation to ankles, calves, knees, &c.; and finally and *seventhly*, if I can manage to hunt up sheets of paper of sufficient size, I will present my readers with some copper-plate facsimiles of the feet of the fair dames of Göttingen."—*Reisebilder*, p. 51.

This is the general tone in which he speaks of his countrywomen. There are occasions, however, on which he does full justice to the fair daughters of Germany, showing at the same time that he is no indifferent judge of female beauty or of human nature. But when he has admiration to bestow he goes towards the south with it; nor does he spend it on

* Pictures of Travel, p. 50.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

Lutheran or Jewess. It will be admitted by competent judges that among all the "Pictures" of Heine there are scarcely any more beautiful in prose form than the two embraced in the following passage; although the ladies need not believe that men in general, or any large proportion of the intellectual class, are inspired to love, like Heine, by being treated *en canaille*:

"I have never troubled myself much with such conversation, and greatly preferred sitting by the maidens in the arched window, and laughed at their laughing, and let them strike me in the face with flowers, and feigned ill nature until they told me their secrets, or some other story of equal importance. Fair *Gertrude* was half-wild with delight when I sat by her. She was a girl like a flaming rose, and once, as she fell on my neck, I thought that she would burn away in perfumes in my arms. Fair *Katherine* melted in musical sweetness when she talked with me, and her eyes were of that pure, perfect, *internal blue* which I have never seen in animated beings, and very seldom in flowers—one gazed so gladly into them, and could then ever imagine the sweetest things. But the beautiful *Hedwiga* loved me, for when I came to her she bowed her head till the black locks fell down over the blushing countenance, and the gleaming eyes shone forth like stars from a dark heaven. Her diffident lips spoke not a word, and even I could say nothing to her. I coughed and she trembled. She often begged me, through her sisters, not to climb the rocks so eagerly, or to bathe in the Rhine when I had exercised or drunk wine until I was heated. Once I overheard her pious prayer to the image of the Virgin Mary, which she had adorned with leaf gold and illuminated with a glowing lamp, and which stood in a corner of the sitting-room. She prayed to the Mother of God to keep me from climbing, drinking, and bathing! I should certainly have been desperately in love with her had she manifested the least indifference, and I was indifferent because I knew that she loved me. Madame, if any one would win my love, they must treat me *en canaille*."—*Pictures of Travel*, pp. 176-177.

One of the problems of Heine's character is, that even while a regular attendant at the Lutheran church, he always evinced so decided a preference for Catholic ladies that the fair Lutherans could ill conceal their jealousy. On one occasion, when rallied for this by Rahel Levin, wife of Varnhagen von Ense, he replied: "Although I have never confessed myself, to priest or presbyter, and never will, I should rather like my lady-love would do so; because I think it might make her a little more careful than she otherwise might be."* Whether he was sincere in this or not, it was a Catholic woman he married; she was in the habit of going to confession, too, it seems, but this did not prevent him from being very jealous of her. It is recorded that on one occasion he annoyed her so much by his suspicions that, finding her absent when he returned in the evening, he was very much frightened, supposing that

* Feuilles pour la Conversation lit., par H. Margraff.

she had run away from him altogether; perhaps a day or two previously he would not have cared much, but he had now received the fullest proof of her innocence. But just as he begins to reproach himself for the wrong he had done her, he heard the voice of her favorite parrot "Cocotte." "Ah," said he "it is all right yet; she never would have gone without the parrot, so I have time enough yet to make amends to her for my unjust suspicions."* He had scarcely finished this soliloquy when Madame Heine made her appearance with a fine bowl of chicken broth which she had worked hard to have ready for him. He turns this incident to happy account in one of his letters to Madame Herz, and concludes by assuring his friend that never afterwards did his wife suffer the least inconvenience from his jealous disposition.

Heine was still less complimentary, if possible, to the ladies of England than he was to his own countrywomen. In giving an account of a visit to the baths of Lucca, he describes English beauties as "plum-puddings with raisin-eyes, roast-beef bosoms, festooned with white stripes of horse-radish, proud pies;"† a description which certainly does no justice to the fair daughters of Albion. When called to an account for this calumny by a lively English lady, his reply was: "I always have a proper reverence for your fellow-countrywomen; they are bright as suns, but suns of ice; they are white as marble, but are also marble cold; on their bosoms are frozen the poor—"‡ No doubt Heine was honest in this. He went to England from France full of prejudices against England for her treatment of Napoleon—he criticised everybody and everything he saw; and who could expect that the ladies would be otherwise than "cold" to one who did not spare themselves more than their husbands, their brothers, or their lovers? Had he come in a different spirit, he would have found the daughters of England not at all deficient in warmth, feeling, or generosity.

Against Englishmen he pours forth his wrath without stint. Sometimes he hits upon the truth and says no more than is deserved—more generally, however, he indulges in caricature. "I might settle in England," he says, in his exile, "if it were not that I should find there two things, coal-smoke and Englishmen; I cannot abide either."

This is proper enough, since every one has a right to prefer what country he will. But when he represents the English as knowing nothing about liberty, or even about

* Feuilles pour la Conversation Lit., par H. Margraff.

† Pictures of Travel, p. 303.

‡ Ibid.

the use of their own faculties, until they have visited France, he shows that even a poet may take a run to Paris, Berlin, or London, stay there a week or a fortnight; nay, visit Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield, and still not entirely understand the English people.

"Stiff, taciturn Englishmen go pilgrim-like in hordes to France, there to learn to speak and move their limbs, and on returning we observe with amazement that their tongues are loosened, they no longer have two left hands, and are no longer contented with beef-steak and plum-puddings. I myself have seen such an Englishman, who in Tavistock Tavern asked for some sugar with his cauliflowers—a heresy against the stern laws of the English *cuisine*, which nearly caused the waiter to fall flat on his back; for, certainly, since the days of the Roman invasion, cauliflower was never cooked otherwise than by simply boiling in water, nor was it ever eaten with sweet seasoning. It was the self-same Englishman who, although I had never seen him before, sat down opposite to me and began to converse so genially in French that I could not for my life help telling him how delighted I was to meet for once an Englishman who was not reserved towards strangers, whereupon he, without smiling, quite as candidly remarked that he merely talked with me for the sake of practice in French."—*Pictures of Travel*, p. 421.

That the French excel the English in many things far be it from us to deny; perhaps in nothing do they do so more than in the culinary art. The descendants of the Gauls have much more vivacity than those of the Saxons, the Angles, &c.; they are also more quick-witted and communicative; but none know better than the French how absurd it is to say that in order to loosen their tongues, Englishmen must visit France. Voltaire, Montaigne, and Montesquien would have told him quite a different story; so would his contemporary, Victor Hugo.* What he says of London is much more to the point: "Excessive wealth and misery, orthodoxy and infidelity, freedom and serfdom, cruelty and mildness, honor and deceit; all these incongruities in their maddest extremes, over all a grey misty heaven, on every side buzzing machines, reckoning, gas-lights, chimneys, pots of porter, closed mouths; all this hangs together in such-wise that we can hardly think of the one without the other, and that which singly, really ought to excite our astonishment or laughter appears to be, when taken as a part of the whole, quite common-place and serious."† Heine likes the poets and statesmen of England very well, but he regards them as exotics, "isolated martyrs." "They scarcely belong," he tells us, "to this Golgotha of their sufferings." But he adds: "The mass—the English block-

* "On a de l'esprit en France," says M. Thiers, "mais on crée peu: presque tous les autres pays nous ont précédés; ce sont eux qui ont ouvert la voie, et si le nôtre a excellé dans les arts, il a rarement donné l'impulsion."

† *Reisebilder*, pp. 423, 424.

heads, God forgive me!—are *hat-ful to me in my inmost soul*; and I often regard them not at all as my fellow-men, but as miserable automata—machines whose motive power is egoism. In these moods it seems to me as if I heard the whizzing wheel-work by which they think, feel, reckon, digest, and pray; their praying, their mechanical Anglican church-going, with the gilt prayer-book under their arms, their stupid, tiresome Sunday, their awkward piety, is most of all odious to me. I am firmly convinced that a blaspheming Frenchman is a more pleasing sight for the Divinity than a praying Englishman.”*

It must be admitted that there is much truth in this picture of the English masses. For our own part, we confess we have never travelled among so stupid and thoughtless a people as the laboring classes of England. We have met with people still more ignorant than they, but certainly with none of the white race that evince so little intellect, vivacity, or spirit. If seriousness, patience, and docility were proofs of wisdom, then, indeed, the English peasant might be regarded as very wise; but his general conduct is too apt to remind us of a certain quadruped and a certain bird, both of which are somewhat celebrated for the same qualities, but not for their intelligence or wisdom. Heine forgets to tell us, however, that these very people whom he hates so much are, after all, his own flesh and blood; in a word, they belong to the Anglo-Saxon race, which, according to a certain class of historians, ethnologists, and orators, is superior to all other races.

No one can paint a picture with a few happy touches more true to nature than Heine. He has described the Tyrolese more truthfully than anybody else in a few sentences. “They are handsome,” he says, “cheerful, honorable, brave, and of *inscrutable narrowness of mind*. I would also call them a noble race, because they evince much discrimination in their food, and keep their houses very clean, only they lack the feeling of personal dignity. The Tyrolese has a sort of laughing, humorous servilism, which wears an almost ironical air, but which is intended to be thoroughly honorable. The girls in the Tyrol greet you so amiably, and the men press your hand so genially.”† It is equally true of Heine that no one can more easily turn from the humorous and sarcastic to the sad and pathetic. His chats about the Italian galleries of the fine arts are in an excellent vein. In speaking of

* Vermischte Schriften, vol. ii., p. 29.

† Reisebilder, p. 258.

all that was left of Genoa in his time, he says: "I cannot leave unmentioned the collection of portraits of beautiful Genoese women exhibited in the Palace Durazzo. Nothing in the world inspires the soul with such melancholy as the sight of portraits of fair ladies who have been dead for centuries. Sadness steals over the soul when we reflect that of all the originals of those pictures, of all the beauties who were so lovely, so coquettish, so witty, so roguish, and so dreamy—of all those May-heads with April moods—of that spring-tide of ladies—nothing now remains but these many-colored shadows, which some artist, who like them has long been dead, has painted on a perishable canvas, which, like the originals, must pass away in time to decayed dust."* But we need quote no more from the "Pictures of Travel" to show that it is no wonder that the work rendered the author famous at once, although we have given no specimen of the poetical part which embraces some of his happiest and most exquisite effusions. Everything he had previously written was now welcome to the public; even his dramas found many readers. The collection of poems, which nobody cared to see when it was first published, was promptly reprinted under the title of the "Book of Songs" (*Das Buch der Lieder*), and was received with the utmost enthusiasm throughout Germany, especially by the young.

This, however, did not conciliate the author; he could not so easily forgive the contempt with which his first efforts were treated. Accordingly, no sooner does he find his genius as a poet fully recognized at home and abroad than he commences a new satire on the Fatherland. We allude to his charming *Atta Troll*, in which he makes Germany figure as a bear of the Pyrenees. It is undoubtedly the best satire in the German language; not only does it abound in humor and amuse the reader from beginning to end, by the air of injured worth and superior morality which it gives brui: but it inculcates more useful precepts, and contains more true worldly wisdom, than any of his graver performances. It has been compared in turn to the mock heroic of Lope de Vega on the Battle of the Cats and to the Orlando Furioso of Ariosto. For our own part we cannot agree with those who think it contains as much poetry as the latter, or that it will endure so long; but we think it far surpasses the former in all the essential requisites of a national satire such

* *Reisebilder*, pp. 299, 300.

as *Atta Troll* was design'd to be. The poem extends to twenty-seven chapters, each full of variety; it were idle to attempt to give a specimen of such a performance which would do justice to the author. At the same time we will venture to transcribe a few stanzas as a sample of one of the forms in which the Germans are ridiculed by their own countryman :

"Many a very virtuous burgher
Smells but badly, whilst the servants
Of a king with ambergris
Or else lavender are scented.

Virgin spirits may be met with
Which of green soap bear the odor,
Whilst the criminal with rose-oil
May have wash'd himself demurely.

Do not, therefore, turn your nose up,
Gentle reader, if the cave of
Atta Troll may not remind you
Of Arabia's sweetest spices.

Tarry in that reeking circle,
'Mid those miserable stenchies,
Where to his young son the hero
As from out a cloud thus speaks :

'Child, my child, thou youngest offspring
Of my loins, now place thy one ear
Close beside thy father's muzzle,
And suck in my solemn words !

Guard against man's ways of thinking,
They destroy both soul and body ;
'Mongst all men there's no such thing as
Any ordinary man.

E'en the Germans, once so noble,
E'en the very sons of Tuisco,
Our own primitive relations,
They, too, have degenerated.'"—Cap. viii.

It must not be thought, however, that the satire of *Atta Troll* is confined exclusively to the Germans ; in the same poem he gives his impressions of his first visit to Spain, and treats the Spaniards pretty much the same as he does the English. But even this he cannot do without giving his fellow-countrymen a thrust in passing, and reminding the reader of the model nation just as plainly as he does when he tells us in prose that "the French are the chosen people of the new religion ; its first gospels and dogmas have been drawn up in their language ; Paris is the new Jerusalem, and the Rhine is the Jordan which divides the consecrated land

of freedom from the land of the Philistines."* But the trochees of Atta Troll are not the less humorous and musical on this account, and accordingly we make room for a few stanzas more :

"Early in the morn I started
With Lascaro on our journey,
Bound to hunt the bear. At noonday
We arrived at Pont d'Espagne.

So they call the bridge which leadeth
Out of France and into Spain ;
To the land of west barbarians,
Who're a thousand years behind us ;—

Yes, a thousand years behind us
In all modern civilization ;
My barbarians to the eastward,
But a hundred years behind are.

* * * *

We arrived not until evening
At the wretched small posada,
Where an olla-podrida
In a dirty dish was smoking.

There I swallowed some garbanzos,
Heavy, large as musket bullets ;
Indigestible to Germans,
Though to dumplings they're accustomed.

Fit companion to the cooking
Was the bed. With insects pepper'd
It appeared. The bugs, alas ! are
Far the greatest foes of man.

Yes, the fiercest earthly trouble
Is the fight with noxious vermin,
Who a stench employ as weapons—
Is a duel with a bug !"—Cap. xi.

We will give one more specimen of his ridicule of "La veille Germanie" as contrasted with France—that passage in the fifth "caput" of his "Deutschland" in which he makes Father Rhine complain of the humiliation to which he has had to submit at the hands of the French. Not content with seeking to lower his own country in the estimation of the world, in order to please his adopted country, he makes one of his characteristic attacks on a former literary friend, on the ground of an alleged *liaison* of the latter with George Sand (Madame Dudevant) :

"That I am a virgin pure no more
The French know better than any ;
For they with my waters have mingled oft
Their floods of victory many.

The stupid song and the stupid man! *
 Indeed he has treated me badly;
 To a certain extent he has compromised me
 In matters political sadly.

For if the French should ever come back,
 I must blush at their reappearance,
 Though I've prayed with tears for their return
 To heaven with perseverance.

I always have loved full well the French,
 So tiny yet full of sinew;
 Still wear they white breeches as formerly?
 Does their singing and springing continue?

Right glad should I be to see them again,
 And yet I'm afraid to be twitted
 On account of the words of that cursed song,
 And the sneers of its author half-witted!

That Alfred de Musset, † that lad upon town,
 Per-hance will come as their drummer,
 And march at their head, and his wretched wit
 Play off on me all through the summer.

Poor Father Rhine thus made his complaints,
 And discontentedly splutter'd, —
 In order to raise his sinking heart,
 These comforting words I uttered:

'O do not dread, good Father Rhine,
 The laugh of a Frenchman, which is
 Worth little, for he is no longer the same,
 And they also have alter'd their breeches.

Their breeches are red, and no longer are white,
 They also have alter'd the button;
 No longer they sing and no longer they spring,
 But hang their heads like dead mutton.

They now are philosophers all, and quote
 Hegel, Fichte, Kant, over their victuals;
 Tobacco they smoke, and beer they drink,
 And many play also at skittles.

They're all, like us Germans, becoming mere snobs,
 But carry it even farther;
 No longer they follow in Voltaire's steps,
 But believe in Hengstenberg rather.

As for Alfred de Musset, indeed it is true
 That he still to abuse gives a handle;
 But be not afraid, and we'll soon chain down
 His tongue so devoted to scandal.

* Alluding to Nicholas Becker, who had written a poem beginning, "They shall not have the German Rhine."

† Musset had answered Becker by a song commencing, "We have had your German Rhine."

And if he should play off his wretched wit,
We'll punish him most severely,
Proclaiming aloud the adventures he meets
With the women he loves most dearly.

Then be contented, good Father Rhine,
Bad songs treat only with laughter;
A better song ere long, thou shalt hear,—
Farewell, we shall meet hereafter." —*Germany*, cap. v.

In the third book of his "Romancero," Heine gives full vent to his hatred of all religion; Jewish rabbis and Catholic monks are made to abuse each other in language which either would hardly have used in the rudest period of the dark ages, the obvious object of the poet being to bring contempt on both religions alike. Indeed the "Disputation" is hardly fit to be read; it is otherwise, however, with the poem entitled "Jehuda Ben Halevy," in the same collection, which sets forth the life of the great Hebrew poet of the middle ages, and shows at the same time that some of the Jewish sympathies of the author still remained, in spite of his ridicule of all that was most dear to his Hebrew kindred. But the most attractive of the "Hebrew melodies" is the "Princess Sabbath," although this too, is, for the most part, in the mocking style. The author is quite liberal in his compliments to the princess, but most of them are of an equivocal character, such, for example, as the following:

"Pearl and flower of perfect beauty
Is the Princess. Fairer never
Was the famous queen of Sheba,
Solomon's old boom friend.

Ethiopian vain blue-stocking,
Who with her cap if would dazzle,
And with a hair ever riddled,
Was, I fear, extremely tedious."

"Perl' und Blume aller Selbheit
Ist die Fürstin. Zehäuer war
Nicht die Königin von Saba,
Solomon's Bus-enfreundin.

Die ein Haustrompf Aethiopiens,
Durch Fezrit brühten wehe,
Und mit ihren klugen Käses-In
Auf die Länge fatigant ward."

Further on he pays her another compliment, but spoils that too; and then he proceeds to scoff at Moses, the commandments, &c.:

"Modestly the silent princess
In her hood e needs her tresses;
Soft as the gazelle's her looks are,
Slender as an Adonis blooms she.

She allows her lover all things
Save this one—tobacco-smoking;
'Loved one!' smoking is forbidden,
For to-day the Sabbath is.

But at noon, in compensation,
Thou a steaming dish shall taste of,
Which is perfectly delicious—
Thou shalt eat to-day some Schalet!"

'Schalet, heart-sons spark immortal,
Daughter of Eysum!
Thou would'st Schiller's song have sung it,
Had he ever tasted Schalet.

"Sittsam birgt die stille Fürstin
In der Haube ihre Zöpfe;
Blickt so sanft wie die Gazelle,
Büßt so schlank wie eine Adonis.

Sie erlaubt dem Liebsten alles,
Ausgenommen Tabakrauchen—
'Liebster! rauchen ist verboten,
Weil es heute Sabbath ist.

Dafür aber heute Mittag
Soll dir dampfen, zum Ersatz,
Ein Gericht, das wahrhaft göttlich—
Heute soltest du Schalet essen!"

'Schalet, schöner Göterfunken,
Töchter aus Eysum!
Also klänge Schiller's Hochlied,
Hätt' er Schalet je gekostet

Schalet is the food of heaven,
 Whom the Lord Himself taught Moses
 How to cook, when on that visit
 To the summit of Mount Sinai,
 Where the Lord Almighty also
 Every good religious doctrine
 And the holy ten commandments
 Publish'd in a storm of lightning."

Schalet ist die Himmelspeise,
 Die der liebe Herrgott selber
 Einst den Moses kochen lehrte
 Auf dem Berge Sinai,
 Wo der Allerhöchste gleichfalls
 All die guten Glaubenslehren
 Und die heiligen zehn Gebote
 Wetterleuchtend offenbarte."

—*Prinzessin Sabbath*

We should not pass too harsh a judgment, however, on Heine, but rather take into account the circumstances in which he was placed. We are bound to remember that his early disappointments and mortification soured the mind of one naturally sensitive and proud, though as naturally warm-hearted and affectionate. We should also bear in mind how much he suffered from ill health; how much of what is most reprehensible and objectionable in his writings, especially of his attacks on religion, and on his former personal friends, was written while he was unable to leave his bed. All will be the more willing to make allowance in this way when they see that he often regretted himself what he had done under the influence of those morbid feelings: "Alas!" he says, "one ought really to write against no one in this world. We are all of us sick and suffering enough in this great lazaretto, and many a piece of polemical reading involuntarily reminds me of a revolting quarrel in a little hospital at Cracow, where I was an accidental spectator, and where it was terrible to hear the sick mocking and reviling each other's infirmities, how emaciated consumptives ridiculed those who were bloated with dropsy, how one laughed at the cancer in the nose of another, and he again jeered the locked-jaw and distorted eyes of his neighbors, until finally those who were mad with fever sprang naked from bed, and tore the coverings and sheets from the maimed bodies around, and there was nothing to be seen but revolting misery and mutilation."*

At a later period, while suffering the most acute pain, and scarcely expecting ever again to enjoy any of the pleasures of the outer world, he writes as follows: "My bed reminds me of the singing grave of the magician Merlin, which lies in the forest of Brozeliard, in Bretagne, under tall oaks whose tops soar like green plumes towards heaven. I envy thee, brother Merlin, those trees and the fresh breeze which moves their branches, for no green leaf nestles about my mattress grave in Paris, where late and early I hear nothing else than the rolling of carriages, ham-

* *Pictures of Travel*, pp. 378, 379.

mering, quarrelling, and piano-tuning. Long ago the measure has been taken for my coffin and my obituary, but I die so slowly that the process is tedious for me and my friends too."

The kindness of Heine to his mother would show by itself that he was good-natured at heart. After suffering for months, nay, for years, he wrote to her in the most cheerful mood, not saying a word about his illness, but rather giving her to understand that he was in the enjoyment of perfect health, lest she might feel uneasy about him. Influenced by the same natural affection, he visited her twice at Hamburg, after he had settled permanently in Paris, although well aware that he was in danger of being seized by the Prussian police and placed in some dungeon which he might never leave. He never published any work in which he did not allude to her in one form or other in terms of the warmest affection; from his several addresses to her, made under different names, we select the following sonnet as a specimen :

" With foolish fancy I deserted thee ;
 I fain would search the whole world through, to learn
 If in it I perchance could love discern,
 That I might love embrace right lovingly.
 I sought for love as far as eye could see,
 My hands extending at each door in turn,
 Begging them not my prayer for love to spurn—
 Cold hate alone they laughing gave to me.
 And ever search'd I after love; yes, ever
 Search'd after love, but love discovered never,
 And so I homeward went, with troubled thought;
 But thou wert there to welcome me again,
 And, ah, what in thy dear eye floated then
 That was the sweet love I so long had sought."

Nor are there any willing to do him justice, who were personally acquainted with himself and his wife, that do not bear unequivocal testimony to his kindness as a husband. There is sufficient reason to believe that Madame Heine was a good wife, but she was no better than he gave her full credit for, a fact of which we have evidence in several of his finest effusions. To her, too, he addressed sonnets at different periods of his married life. When he felt his end approaching, he was in the habit of rallying her as to the affection or want of affection she would evince for him after his death; it was in one of these moods he wrote the following stanzas which can hardly be excelled in their kind :

THE ANNIVERSARY.

" Not one mass will e'er be chanted,
 Not one Hebrew prayer be muttered;
 When the day I died returneth,
 Nothing will be sung or uttered.

GEDACHTNISSEFIER.

" Keine Messe wird man singen,
 Keinen Kadosch wird man sagen,
 Nichts gesagt und nichts gesungen
 Wird an meinen Sterbetagen.

Yet upon that day, it may be,
If the weather has not chilled
On a visit to Montmartre
With Pauline will go Matilda

With a wreath of immortelles she'll
Deck my grave in foreign fashion,
Sighing say "pauvre homme," and sadly
Drop a tear of fond compassion.

I shall then too high be dwelling,
And, alas! no chair have ready
For my darling's use to offer,
As she walks with feet unsteady.

Sweet, stout little one, return not
Home on foot, I must implore thee;
At the barrier gate is standing
A fiacre all ready for thee."

—*Luc. ing.*, pp. 460, 461.

Noch vielleicht an solchem Tage,
Wenn das Wetter schön und milde,
Geht spazieren auf Montmartre
Mit Paulinen Frau Matilde.

Mit dem Kranz von Immortellen
Kommt sie mir das Grab zu schmücken,
Und sie seufzt: "Pauvre homme!"
Feuchte Wehmuth in den Backen.

Leider wohn' ich viel zu hoch,
Und ich habe meiner Füßen
Keinen Stuhl hier anzubieten;
Ach! sie schwankt mit müden Füßen.

Süßes, dickes Kind, du darfst
Nicht zu Fuß nach Haus gehen;
An dem Barricade-Gitter
Siehst du die Fiaker stehen."

—*Lazarus.*

While he was thus kind and affectionate to his wife and mother, his constant sufferings made him hate the world. Of this fact, also, we have a beautiful and touching record, although we cannot admire the philosophy which would teach us to hate the whole world because one who lives in a small corner of it happens to be afflicted, and perhaps owing more, if all were known, to his own imprudence in early life than to any other cause. But if the philosophy is bad the poetry is undoubtedly good—full of tenderness and pathos:

IN MAY.

"The friends whom I kiss'd and caress'd of yore
Have treated me now with cruelty sore;
My heart is fast breaking. The sun, though,
above
With smiles is hailing the sweet month of love.

Spring blooms around. In the greenwood is heard
The echoing song of each happy bird,
And flowers and girls wear a maidenly smile—
O beauteous world, I hate thee the while!

Yes, Orcus' self I well might praise;
No contrasts vain torment there our days;
For ailing hearts 'tis better below,
There where the Stygian high-waters flow.

That sad and melancholy stream,
And the symphalides' dull scream,
The Furies' sing song, so harsh and shrill,
With Cerberus' bark, she pauses to fill,—

These match full well with sorrow and pain.
In Proserpine's accursed domain,
In the region of shadows, the valley of sighs,
All with our tears doth harmonize.

But here above, like hateful things,
The sun and the rose infect their stings;
I'm mock'd by the heavens, so May like and blue—
O beauteous world, I hate thee now!"

—*Bourling's Heine*, p. 510.

IM MAI.

Die Freunde, die ich geküßt und geliebt
Die haben das Schlimmste an mir yeübt.
Mein Herze bricht; doch drohen die Sonne,
Lachend begrüßt sie den Monat der Liebe.

Es blüht der Lenz. Im grünen Wald
Der lustige Vogelgesang erschallt.
Und Mädchen und Blumen, sie lächeln jung fröhlich—
O selb' die Welt, du bist abscheulich!

Du lob' ich mir den Orcus fast;
Dort kränkt uns nirgends ein schmerzlicher Contrast;
Für leidende Herzen ist es viel besser
Dort unten am stygischen Nachgewässer.

Sein melancholisches Geräusch,
Der Symphaliden's dumpfes Geschrei,
Der Furies Singesang, so schrill und grell,
Dazwischen des Cerberus' Geheul—

Das passt verdammtlich zu Unglück und Qual—
Im Schatt'reich, dem traurigen Thal,
In Proserpines verdammten Lomänen,
Ist alles im Einklang mit unseren Thränen.

Hier oben aber, wie grausamlich
Sonne und Rose stechen sie mich!
Mich lästet der Himmel, der bläulich und blau—
O schau' Welt, du bist abscheulich!"

—*Ruhelshönd.*

Heine has written several prose works, which, being chiefly local in their character, are little known abroad, except in France, where all his writings have been trans-

lated and published under his own supervision. The most important of these is his "Contributions to the History of German Literature" (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der neuen schönen Literatur in Deutschland*); although it must be admitted that it is by no means reliable in its criticisms. There are very few of the authors of Germany whom he does not bring under review in this work; but with two or three exceptions he condemns all, especially those to whom he might be compared himself, as little better than stupid pretenders to an inspiration of which they knew nothing. Even Uhland is treated after this fashion; nor does Schiller escape altogether free, or without his pretensions to genius being somewhat questioned. In the same work he attacks his old friend and benefactor, Augustus William Schlegel.

His letters from Paris to the Augsburg Gazette were also published in book form both in German and French. Although embracing multifarious topics, they are devoted chiefly to literature, the fine arts, and politics. No other productions of his pen show a more cultivated taste or a truer appreciation of the beautiful, thrown off, as they evidently were in much haste, and almost without any preparation. They are marred, however, by his usual faults. Senators and other politicians of the first rank, to whose generous hospitality he was often indebted, find themselves held up to public ridicule in this work, as if they had been the most unprincipled of men and his worst enemies. But we have already shown that there are extenuating circumstances in his case; and we are glad to add, for the credit of human nature, that those whom he attacked most violently and most unjustly have freely forgiven him on the grounds alluded to.

But his end was now approaching. The last time he ever left his house was in May, 1848; often previously, when he did attempt to walk out, he had to be carried home. Of his struggles in this way we have some touching accounts from his own pen: "With difficulty," he says, on one occasion, "I dragged myself to the Louvre, and I almost sank down as I entered that magnificent hall where the ever-blessed goddess of beauty, our beloved Lady of Milo, stands on her pedestal. At her feet I lay long, and wept so bitterly that a stone must have pitied me. The goddess looked compassionately on me, but at the same time disconsolately, as if she would say: Dost thou not see, then, that I have no arms, and thus cannot help thee?" For eight years after this he was confined to his bed; and he tells us himself that his condition

was that of "death without its repose, and without the privileges of the dead, who have no need to spend money, no letters or books to write." Who will pass a harsh judgment on such a sufferer in view of the many brilliant pages he has written and the many melodious songs he has sung, and taught others to sing? As a man his faults are indeed many and grave; but as a poet he is undoubtedly the best that Germany has produced since Goethe's time; and what other country has produced his equal during the same period?

ART. IV.—1. *History of the Italian Opera.* By M. ARTEAGA. London.

2. *Lives and Labors of Musical Composers.* From the German of J. H. BAPST. London.

3. *The Musical Journals of New York, &c.*

WE design to show in this brief paper that the admirers of the opera in New York are much too easily pleased; far too indulgent to the self-appointed caterers for their musical tastes. But let us not be misunderstood; we do not undertake the task in any dictatorial spirit, or with the view of annoying or pleasing any faction or individual. We have nothing to do with the squabbles of managers, either as friends or opponents, further than they may serve to illustrate our own views; at the same time we shall not shrink from examining into their causes and trying to ascertain whether they are the results of superior qualifications or of ignorance and imbecility.

That music exercises an educational influence is no longer regarded as a problem in any enlightened country; on no other point do men and women of intelligence more unanimously agree than that it produces a refining effect on the mind; and be it remembered that whatever serves to refine the mind serves to develop its faculties. It is on this ground that it is included among the fine arts, and it requires but little reflection to see that it is justly entitled to that distinction.

There is, indeed, great expression in a fine painting; still more, perhaps, in a fine piece of sculpture. Any of the works of the great masters might be mentioned as an illustration of eloquence as well as beauty. Even Dante himself does not describe the infernal regions, in his *Inferno*, with more startling vividness than Angelo does in his paint-

ings; nor does Virgil's description of the serpents of Laocoon* make a stronger impression on the imagination than the splendid group of Laocoon in the Belvidere of the Vatican, which represents the same scene. There is true sublimity and grandeur in each, but not more than there is in many of the productions of Mozart, Haydn, Gluck, and Beethoven; in short, the noblest specimen of painting or sculpture which either the ancient or modern world has produced is not so well calculated to soften or subdue the heart, or inspire it with joy and delight, as many gems of music which are familiar to almost every one of our readers. But just in proportion as music exercises this power over heart and mind does it claim the scrupulous, fostering care of all who have the means of encouraging it.

Now, has it hitherto received this care among us? Has it not, on the contrary, been left under the supervision of any person who thought he could make money by it, without the slightest regard to his qualifications or want of qualifications? It is not to be expected that concert-halls and other minor musical establishments should always be in the hands of competent persons; but an institution like the Academy of Music, which has just been burned, should not be allowed into vulgar hands. Its director should be, not only a man of education and taste, who knows how to treat the public with decent respect; he should also possess musical talent himself. Indeed, leaving the public out of the question altogether, he would require those qualifications in order to command that respect from the artists whom he employs, without which success is impossible.

It is notorious that our directors have not been men of this character, but the reverse. Not one of the three best known for the last seven years would have got charge of the leading opera-house in a fourth-rate European city. As for the great cities to which New York may be compared, not one of them would give those gentlemen a higher position in its chief opera-house than that of advertising agent, puffer or head *claqueur*. We are not disposed to pass very heavy censure on the people of New York for having given even the most incompetent of them a trial; for the world expects the great Republic to be more liberal and less scrutinizing towards those who seek employment than even the freest of the old monarchies of Europe.

*Æneid ii., 201-225.

But no one has a right to expect that those found wanting in what they undertake should be retained in office while there are sufficient competent persons to take their place. Our opera directors have been retained, however, one after another, until they brought the lyric drama into contempt as much as it was possible for imbecile blunderers to do so. This is no hasty judgment on our part, nor is it designed to be a harsh one; it is the result of careful observation, extending over a period of seven years.

No one is more friendly to the opera than we; no one derives more pleasure from a good opera. Accordingly, we have attended the Academy of Music whenever we expected anything that was even tolerable; but in nine cases out of ten we have found that all capable of forming any intelligent opinion were not only disappointed, but disgusted with the general character of the performances, and the means adopted to lead the public to believe that they were of the highest order of excellence. We have seen the packs of claqueurs applauding in and out of season, generally in an uproarious, exaggerated manner, because they too were untrained; they were persons who were allowed admission on condition that they would render themselves thus useful, and who did not care to come the second night in succession to practise on such terms. We have seen the large bouquets brought out of the director's room, and conveyed to some private boxes in the vicinity of the stage; then, when it was supposed the proper moment came, one, or two, or three, were thrown to the artist, with much apparent enthusiasm, by persons dressed up for the purpose, and adorned with borrowed jewelry; the design being, of course, that the public would be duly influenced by such unmistakable evidences of admiration on the part of the "judicious." Although this was but little of what we saw that was discreditable to the management, yet we have not only refrained for six years from commenting upon it as it deserved, hoping from one quarter to another that an improvement would take place, but we wrote and published in this journal an article in favor of the opera nearly five years ago.*

As we have no other object than to give what aid we can to those in favor of producing a reformation in the present mode of opera management, we would probably have still continued to hope on rather than make any harsh

* See Nat. Q. Rev. for Sept., 1861, art. "Influence of Music—the Opera."

remarks, had not the destruction of the Academy of Music suggested to us that now is the proper time to try to remedy the evil. We confess that our patience had become so nearly exhausted about a year ago that we made some preparation for a series of articles such as we now commence, feeling that the self-constituted musical directors had no more right to swindle the public than the quack doctors, the insurance quacks, or the petroleum speculators. But very soon after we had commenced to refresh our memory by new researches, a quarrel but too well known arose between the director of the Academy of Music and one of our morning papers; as we did not wish to lay ourselves open to the imputation of taking any part in this, we discarded the subject for the present.

Now that the public has had time to judge for itself, we think that the cause of justice or right cannot be in any manner injured by the opinion that this quarrel would be sufficient to show by itself that the director who has carried on his part of it as he has is utterly unfit to have charge of an institution like the Academy of Music. In order to prove this to the satisfaction of any intelligent person, it is not necessary to enquire whether the journal with which he has had the quarrel was right or wrong in its criticisms on himself or his artists. We are bound to remember that a part of the legitimate business of a journalist is to criticise musical and dramatic performances. Even in countries where editors are prohibited from discussing politics any further than their views coincide with those of the ruling power, they are allowed full liberty in their criticisms on music and the drama as well as on literature. At Berlin, Vienna, and Madrid, as well as at Paris and London, the journalist has full liberty to publish any opinions which he may form, not only of any drama or opera, but of the manner in which either is put on the stage.* In short, what-

* The criticisms of La Harpe on the operas of Gluck are well known. Though no poet, he attacked the great composer in verse as well as in prose; but Gluck put himself to no expense to inform the public that he did not advertise in the *Journal de la Littérature*, of which the critic was editor and proprietor. We copy a verse or two as a specimen:

" Je fais, monsieur, beaucoup de cas
De cette science infime
Que, malgré votre modestie
Vous étalez avec fracas,
Sur la genre de l'harmonie
Qui convient à nos opéras.
Mais tout cela n'empêche pas
Que votre *Armide* ne m'ennuie.

Arme d'une plume hardie
Quand vous traitez du haut en bas
Le vengeur de la mélodie,
Vous avez l'air d'un fier à-bras;

Et je trouve que vos débats
L'assent, ma foi, la raillerie:
Mais tout cela n'empêche pas
Que votre *Armide* ne m'ennuie.

Le fameux Gluck, qui, dans vos bras,
Humblement se jette, et vous prie
Avec ses tours si délicats
De faire valoir son génie,
Mérite sans doute le pas
Sur les Amphions d'*Ausonie*:
Mais tout cela n'empêche pas
Que votre *Armide* ne m'ennuie."

—La Harpe.

ever is allowed to be represented on the stage is allowed to be criticised; all the critic has to abstain from, even where the press has least liberty, are unfavorable remarks on the government under which he lives, or attacks on private character.

Sometimes, indeed, the parties criticised reply; but this is rare, and when it occurs the complaining party is pretty sure to be the one who has most deserved what has been said against him. Just in proportion as he is thoughtless and destitute of talent will he be in a hurry to rush into print, and show the world what gross injustice has been done him, or how foully he has been traduced: although the critic had, perhaps, never heard of him before, he was actuated by the vilest motives. If it is too evident that he could not have been a personal enemy, then he has been prompted by envy or jealousy; if this pretension must be rejected in turn as too absurd, there still remains the plan of accusing him with being in the pay of others; that is, he has been hired to write down the great man!

Nothing is more ancient than this mode of procedure; nothing more stale; and it is understood accordingly and appreciated at its proper value by every sensible person. A certain class of authors, composers, and artists sometimes seek fame in this way, or rather try to make it appear that they are true men of genius instead of the pretenders or plagiarists which they are represented by malicious or unprincipled critics. But never have we known a director of an opera-house except one, to carry on a war of billingsgate for mouths against a daily journal. Although directors are, in general, no wiser than other people, they are at least not so foolish as this. Viewed in any light, the conduct of the person alluded to has been very silly. Were he even possessed of superior literary ability, his talents would have been much better occupied in attending to his business as a manager than in attempting to control the public press or to punish its editors with his pen; for it is no more his business to do this than it would be to write a series of articles on the manufacture of bouquets or sausages, and abuse the manufacturers for not making all to his taste and furnishing him the best samples.

But when one has to employ others to write for him, perhaps one to-day and another to-morrow, then the foolishness of his conduct is enhanced a hundred-fold. We have no acquaintance with Mr. Maretzek; we have never had any

intercourse with him in any form, and cannot, therefore, undertake to say from our own knowledge that he is not the author of the "critical" letters that have been published in his name in several of our city papers about once or twice a week for the last nine or ten months. We have abundance of testimony, however, in support of that theory. We are assured by many competent judges, who have had ample opportunities to form an opinion of the literary abilities of our director, that, although the productions alluded to have little pretensions to merit, and show as little culture as they do taste, or common-sense, he could no more have written them than he could have composed the *chef-d'œuvre* of Mozart. In proof of this assertion we have been shown some letters of his; and we must admit that we regard them as conclusive evidence that the writer would be very much out of his sphere in attempting to vindicate any cause whatever with his own pen.

We do not urge this as a reproach against Mr. Maretzek. If he is as awkward at the pen as he is at the violin or the trumpet, perhaps we should rather pity than blame him. Nay, it is precisely because we regard him as deplorably wanting both in talent and understanding that we wish to treat him with all the gentleness which the nature of his case will admit. If it be true that he had not intellect and intelligence enough to write the lucubrations which bear his name, we cheerfully admit that we ought to make considerable allowance for that influence which even the Bohemian critics will sometimes exercise on weak minds, when in need of a job. Moreover, let us honestly acknowledge that there was some temptation in being told, in a plausible way, what a fine set-off it would be to him to appear before the world, at home and abroad, as one capable of managing, not only the New York opera, but also the New York press. Some, indeed, might shake their heads, and say that even in the middle of the nineteenth century people do not often learn the grammar of a language, much less the ability to write in it as a critic in two or three weeks. But our director is reminded that, while there will always be skeptics, there is scarcely anything so absurd but that it will be believed by a large number.

This, we are assured, determined Mr. Maretzek to appear in due time in his new character, although we cannot help thinking that, if, instead of this he had appeared in a hoped petticoat of about twice the usual dimensions, with bonnet

of the latest fashion, and "water-fall" to match, he could hardly have rendered himself more ridiculous to those who know him best, not excepting the very Bohemians under whose advice he acted.

The fundamental mistake under which Mr. Maretzek has permitted himself to be used in this manner for the amusement and profit of his advisers is that, if the critic is actuated by improper motives, his criticisms avail nothing. There is nothing more erroneous or more thoughtless. If a man is pointed out to the police as a robber, a housebreaker, or a pick-pocket, the proper question is not, what was the motive of the person who denounced him, but did he really commit the crime laid to his charge? If it is found that he did commit it, is he anything the less guilty because the person who informed against him may have been actuated by vindictive motives? Exactly the same principle holds in criticism. If an opera or any work of art is criticised, the proper question is, Are the unfavorable statements made of it true, or are they false? If they are true, it matters not what the motives of the critic were in making them. The worst the public can say in such a case is, "What you tell us on the subject is indeed true, but you would have said nothing about it only for you had spite against the author." If, upon the other hand, the representations of the critic are false, intelligent people who have an opportunity of judging for themselves will understand their character and treat them accordingly, so that they can do very little, if any, harm.

There was as little sense as decency, therefore, in the course pursued by our opera director; it was as foolish as it was vulgar for him to announce daily at the head of his advertisements that he did not advertise in the paper that found fault with his management of the Academy of Music, as if that would make amends for employing cheap artists and disappointing all who were so credulous as to expect anything good from him after so many fruitless trials. We would have him understand that those who attend the opera in New York are not entirely so short-sighted as he seems to think; although, indeed, their having endured his buffooneries so long fully justifies his having a mean opinion of them.

It did not require much reflection to understand the whole affair so far as he was concerned. As long as he got "first-rate notices" in the paper alluded to there was none like it. When it used to call him the Napoleon of the

opera, instead of the Don Quixote he really is, he was wont to boast that it had more influence than all the other New York papers put together. Does he think the public forgets this? or does he suppose that Mr. Raymond or Mr. Greeley has so little perception as not to understand that he would be turned on quite as soon as Mr. Bennett if either persisted in finding fault with his performances? We can assure him that both comprehend him fully, and that each despises him quite as much as Mr. Bennett.

It would be foreign to our purpose in this article to institute comparisons between the editors of our leading journals; suffice it to say, that from our own personal knowledge we know nothing particularly bad of any of them, and we have not much faith in hearsay, especially where it reaches us through interested parties. We may be permitted to think, however, that, if the real Beelzebub, as described by Milton, were the conductor of one of our most widely circulated papers, the opera conductor who would occupy a large proportion of his time in attacking him with his own weapons, because he would not puff his performances, would be a very foolish conductor, and only deserve to be laughed at for his pains; for, be it remembered, that even he sometimes tells the truth. It is not alone in *Paradise Lost* that we find Satan an accomplished logician; is not the Almighty himself influenced by his logic in the Book of Job? Assuming, then, that the worst allegations made by our impresario against his antagonist were true, he would still place himself in no wiser or more dignified position in engaging in a war with him than that of the famous knight of La Mancha in tilting against the windmill. This will be readily assented to by those who picture to themselves an American director attempting to succeed in Paris as a public caterer by carrying on a sort of guerrilla warfare against *La Presse* or the *Journal des Débats*. Who would not say that, if he ever had any common-sense, he must have lost it, and ought to be given in charge to his friends as soon as possible? although *Le diable* or *S. M. santanique* is said to be quite as familiar with the Paris editors as he is with the most incorrigible of their New York brethren.

The most excitable French director who knew his business would not venture to pursue such a course. Raucneau has been more successful in that position than any other impresario; none can deny that he was a man of genius—one who knew how to compose as well as direct. All did

not save him from criticism, however, when he seemed to deserve it; but we have never heard that he advertised his critics in all the Paris journals, even when attacked as follows:

“Contre la moderne musique,
Voilà ma dernière réplique:
Si le difficile est le beau,
C'est un grand homme que Rameau;
Mais si le beau, par aventure,
N'était que la simple nature,
Dont l'art doit être la tableau,
C'est un pauvre homme que Rameau.”

With the exception, however, that Mr. Maretzck has made such bad use of the lion's skin, allowing his ears to protrude to their full extent, we cannot say that he has proved a whit more incompetent for the position he has assumed than either Mr. Ullman or Mr. Grau. It may be said that we too are actuated by envy or jealousy, or that our malice has been excited because we have been slighted by those gentlemen; if not, we shall regard the case as an exceptional one; for we have never made a criticism yet which has not been attributed to some diabolical motive or other. But it is not the less true that we have never asked the slightest favor, either personally or by letter, of any of the gentlemen mentioned. There is no reason, then, why we should have any malice against them; and we really have none. If any of them exhibited taste, perception, energy, and enterprise to-morrow in employing artists and getting up a good opera, no one would more cheerfully give him the full meed of praise than we. But we are very skeptical on this point; we do not think that the opera will ever succeed in such hands.

In order to facilitate the process of determining whether we are right or wrong in this, let us see what has been the experience of the principal capitals of Europe. When the opera was even in its infancy in London, in 1684, it was not committed to less able hands than those of Sir William Davenant, who was undoubtedly a man of genius; both a poet and a musician. His *Gondibert*, a heroic poem, is still extant, and contains some beautiful passages. There are several of his odes which have seldom been surpassed; and he was only ten years old when he wrote as follows, *In remembrance of Master William Shakespeare*:

“Beware, delighted poets, when you sing,
To welcome nature in the early spring,
Your numerous feet not tread
The banks of Avon, for each flower
(As it ne'er knew a sun or shower)
Hangs there the pensive head.”

If we enquire what other men were chiefly instrumental in establishing the opera in London, we shall find that they too were men of genius, whose opinions and advice commanded respect. If Dean Swift was not exactly a director in the technical sense of the term, there are not many directors who have done more for the opera. Among other important services which he rendered it was that of suggesting to Gay the idea of the *Beggar's Opera*. He told him to write a Newgate pastoral, in which all the characters should be thieves and highwaymen, who would relate their exploits in song. The hint was readily taken, and the result is well known.* But let us give one instance more, namely, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, who not only wrote the opera of *The Duenna*, which had a run of seventy-five nights, but managed its representation himself; in short, one of the greatest orators and authors of the golden age of English literature was a director of the drama and the opera.

Now, if we turn to the French capital, there too we shall find at the head of the opera, not vulgar fiddlers and trumpeters, but men of acknowledged genius. The opera has encountered more or less opposition everywhere, because a musical taste must be cultivated; even the Italians required a training of a quarter of a century before they could appreciate the opera.† For nearly half a century the Parisians continued to laugh at it as something too ludicrous to be tolerated. And who were the men who took pains to convince them that they were wrong? Foremost among them were the highest dignitaries of the church—archbishops and cardinals. Even Voltaire gives the credit to the great Cardinal Mazarin of having established the opera in Paris in spite of the most determined opposition maintained against him for a quarter of a century.‡

In 1647 he sent for the best opera company in Italy; he had one of the large halls of the Louvre decorated and otherwise prepared for the occasion. The opera selected was that of *Orpheus*, the most popular in Italy; but it was

* See Chambers' Cyclop. of Lit., vol. i., p. 570. See also Life by Johnson.

† It is worthy of remark that the first opera worthy of the name, represented on the Italian stage, was composed by the father of the illustrious astronomer, Galileo. It was entitled *Ugolino*, and was founded on the beautiful episode of that name in Dante's *Divine Commedia*.

‡ No one has described the opera more faithfully than the author of the *Henriade*:

"Il faut se rendre à ce palais magique,
Où les beaux vers, la danse et la musique,
L'art de tromper les yeux par les couleurs;
L'art plus heureux, de séduire les cœurs,
Le tout plaisir fut un plaisir unique."—Voltaire's "*Le Mondain*."

incontinently hissed by the Parisians, who rewarded the cardinal for his efforts to please and refine them only with jeers and epigrams. But Mazarin was not the man to be discouraged by the taunts of the thoughtless; although he thought it necessary to wait seven years before engaging another Italian company. This was much better received than the first, but was by no means successful; "*mais l'opera du cardinal,*" says the historian, "*n'ennuya pas moins Paris pour la seconde fois.*"* The cardinal still persisted: in 1660 he had the opera of *Xerxes* represented in the great gallery of the Louvre. This made many converts; yet, when he died next year, the Parisians found their chief consolation for his death in the belief that it delivered them from the ennui of the Italian opera.

The seed had been sown, however, and it was already producing its fruits. Those who had still prejudices against the Italian opera were delighted with the French opera; so that, notwithstanding all the epigrams hurled at Cardinal Mazarin for the pains he took to cultivate the musical taste of the French, to him, nevertheless, is due the credit of having gained a foothold on French soil for the lyric drama. Some have objected to it on this very account, calling attention to the fact that it was cardinals who introduced it into Spain and Portugal also, and who were its chief patrons in Italy; but they forget that no cardinal or pope loved music more than Luther, or had more confidence in its influence. There is a passage in his *Table Talk* which shows that, had the opera been known in Germany in his time, he would have done all in his power to encourage it. "Music," he says, is one of the fairest and best gifts of God; and *Satan hates it*, nor can he bear it, since by its means we exorcise many temptations and wicked thoughts. Music is one of the best of the arts. The notes breathe life into the words. It chases away the spirit of melancholy, as we may see by the case of King Saul. Some of our nobility think that they have done some great thing when they give *three thousand gulden yearly towards music*, and yet they will throw away, without scruple perhaps, thirty thousand on follies. *Kings, princes, and lords must maintain music* (for it is the duty of great potentates and monarchs to uphold *excellent liberal arts as well as laws*), inasmuch as the common people and private individuals desire it, and would have it if their means were sufficient. Music is the best solace to a wearied man;

* *Dict. Philosophique*, art. "Art Dramatique."

through it the heart is again quieted, quickened, and refreshed, as that one says in Virgil :

"Tu calamos inflare leves, ego dicere versus." *

It will be admitted that no cardinal could speak more strongly than this in favor of music. Thus those whose opinions were diametrically opposed to each other on almost all other subjects agreed not only that music exercises a salutary influence, but that it ought to be encouraged by the state ; and it may be added that every enlightened sovereign has encouraged it accordingly to a greater or less extent. As an instance we need only mention Louis XIV., who did all in his power from youth to age to establish the opera not only in Paris, but throughout France. But in proportion as he was thus friendly to the lyric drama was he unfriendly to the employment of ignorant directors. In short, he would allow none to occupy that position but one who had given full proof of his ability. The first to whom he gave charge of L'Académie Royale de Musique, built expressly for operatic purposes, was the Abbé Perrin, who was both a poet and a musician ; and the second was M. Lulli, who had already distinguished himself as a composer.† The letters patent granted to the latter are still extant, bearing the date of March 29, 1672, and as the document is curious as well as interesting we transcribe such extracts from it as will give a sufficient idea of its character, giving the original at the bottom of the page."

"In order to induce them (the directors) to attain greater perfection, we have honored them with marks of our esteem and good will ; and as among the liberal arts music holds one of the first places, we had, in that design of making it thrive with all its advantages, by our letters patent of the 28th of June, 1669, accorded to the Monsieur Perrin permission to establish in our good city of Paris, and others of our kingdom, academies of music, for the purpose of singing in public theatrical pieces, as has been the practice in Italy, in Germany, and in England during the last twelve years ; but having been informed that the trouble and care which the said M. Perrin has bestowed on this establishment have not fully seconded our intention, and elevated music to the point which we had hoped, we have concluded, in order to succeed better in it, that it would be proper to give the direction of the affair to a person whose experience and capacity were known to us, and who had sufficient ability to train pupils, as much to sing and act well upon the stage, as to tune violins, flutes, and other instruments. For these causes, being well informed of the intelligence and great knowledge of the science of music which has

* Luther's Table Talk, vol. i. p. 72.

† Lulli was the author of the following operas, some of which remain popular to this day : *Les Fêtes de l'Amour et de Bacchus*, *Alceste*, *Thésée*, *Cadmus*, *Isis*, *Proserpine*, *Armide*, *Persée*, *Aydas*, &c.

been acquired by our dear and well-beloved Jean-Baptiste Lulli, of which he has given, and gives daily, *very agreeable proofs*, during the several years he has been attached to our service, we have given and accorded to the said M. Lulli, we give and accord by these presents signed by our hand, permission to establish a Royal Academy of Music in our good city of Paris, which shall be composed of such a number and quantity of persons as he will consider to be right; we will choose and decide upon the report which he will make to us, in order to produce representations before us, when it shall please us, of pieces of music, which shall be composed in French as well as in foreign languages. And to indemnify him for the great expense he will incur in making the said representations, we permit him to give to the public all the pieces which *he will have composed*, even those which will have been represented before us; making express prohibition and interdiction of *all persons of whatever quality and condition they may be*, even to the *officers of our household, of entering without paying*. We wish, and it will please us, that all young gentlemen and ladies may sing in the said Royal Academy of Music, without its being considered derogatory to their dignity, or to their privileges, positions, rights, and immunities. Given as mandate to our beloved and faithful counsellors, the people holding our court of parliament, etc., etc., etc., for such is our pleasure, in order that this may be a deed, *firm and fixed forever*.¹

* "Pour les obliger davantage à s'y perfectionner, dit sa majesté, nous les avons honorés des marques de notre estime et de notre bienveillance; et comme entre les arts libéraux la musique y tient un des premiers rangs, nous avions, dans ce dessein de la faire réussir avec tous ses avantages, par nos lettres patentes du 28 Juin, 1669, accordé au sieur Perrin une permission d'établir en notre ville de Paris et autres de notre royaume des académies de musique, pour chanter en public des pièces de théâtre, comme il se pratique en Italie, en Allemagne et en Angleterre, pendant l'espace de douze années; mais ayant été informé que les peines et les soins que ledit sieur Perrin a pris pour cet établissement n'ont pu secondier pleinement notre intention, et élever la musique au point que nous nous l'étions promis, nous avons cru, pour y mieux réussir, qu'il étoit à propos d'en donner la conduite à une personne dont l'expérience et la capacité nous fussent connues, et qui eût assez de sùffisance pour former des élèves, tant pour bien chanter et actionner sur le théâtre qu'à dresser des bandes de violons, flûtes et autres instruments. A ces causes, bien informé de l'intelligence et grande connoissance que s'est acquises notre cher et bien aimé Jean-Baptiste Lulli au fait de la musique, dont il nous a donné et donne journellement de très-agréables preuves depuis plusieurs années qu'il s'est attaché à notre service. . . . nous avons audit sieur Lulli permis et accordé, permettons et accordons par ces présentes signées de notre main, d'établir une Académie Royale de Musique dans notre bonne ville de Paris, qui sera composée de tel nombre et quantité de personnes qu'il avisera bon être, que nous choisissons et arrêterons sur le rapport qu'il nous en fera pour faire des représentations devant nous, quand il nous plaira, des pièces de musique qui seront composées tant en vers français qu'autres langues étrangères. Et pour le dédommager des grands frais qu'il convient de faire pour lesdites représentations, nous lui permettons de donner au public toutes les pièces qu'il aura composées, mêmes celles qui auront été représentées devant nous; faisant très-express inhibition et défense à toutes personnes de quelque qualité et condition qu'elles soient, même aux officiers de notre maison, d'y entrer sans payer. Voulons et nous plaît que tous gentilshommes et demoiselles puissent chanter auxdites pièces et représentations de notre dite Académie Royale de Musique, sans que pour ce ils soient censés déroger audit titre de noblesse, ni à leurs privilèges, charges, droits et immunités. Le donnons en mandement à nos aimés et fidèles conseillers, les gens tenant notre cour de parlement, etc., etc., car tel est notre plaisir, afin que ce soit chose ferme et stable à toujours."—*Lettres Patentes que furent décernées à Lulli*, p. 442.

In the archives of the courts of Vienna, Berlin, Madrid, and Lisbon, as well as London, similar documents are to be found. Even in Russia mere fiddlers would try in vain to get charge of any of the principal opera-houses as they do with us; they might as well apply to the czar for a seat on the bench or in the senate. When the illustrious Duke of Saxe Wiemer, who was the friend and patron of Goethe, Schiller, Herder, and Wieland, was applied to for the management of his opera-house, while the regular conductor was unwell, he said: "My dear sir, I would appoint you mayor of my capital much more readily, while knowing as little about you as I do now; for an incompetent mayor could do far less harm than an incompetent director of the opera." This may seem to exaggerate the importance of the position of director, but in point of fact it does not; until we learn to take the same idea of it, the opera will never succeed with us. As already observed, now is the time to take this into consideration. If the state, less liberal and less paternal than despotic monarchs, will give no encouragement to an art declared by the most illustrious thinkers to exercise a refining and elevating influence on the mind, at least let the trustees of the Academy pass a resolution that no mountebanks of the old stamp need apply for the direction of it. Should they fail to do so, and continue to make such arrangements as would imply that their sole object is to make money, we shall take the liberty of criticising them just as freely as we do the directors; for it is our intention to allow no "season" to pass in future without giving our impressions of its character; criticising or commending both artists and director, precisely as we think either deserve, one or the other.

ART. V.—1. *History of Buddhism in India and China.* By REV. J. E. NASH, F.R.S. London, 1865.

2. *Asiatic Researches.* By SIR WILLIAM JONES. London.

3. *The History and Doctrine of Buddhism.* By E. UPHAM. London.

4. *Mélanges Asiatic.* 3 vols. 8vo. PAR ABEL REMUSAT. Paris.

THE proverbially speculative turn of the Indo-Germanic mind, together with the wonderful philosophical and religious systems brought to light by the labors of Asiatic scholars within the last fifty years, has awakened the curi-

osity of Western nations to sound the depths of Indian literature, and to study the operations of the human mind among a people widely separated from Europeans, by climate, customs, and social institutions. The dreamy transcendentalism of the Hindoos : their grand, though vague, ideas of the Divinity, in whom, according to them, all substances are absorbed, and in whom alone there is all being ; the practical applications of this severe pantheism to all their institutions, to art, poetry, and philosophy ; their subtle and profound theories on the soul of man and on the universe, bespoke a character of mind well suited to grapple with the knotty problem of human life, and to reach a solution which, if not correct, might at least be found well deserving the serious attention of philosophers. We need not, then, wonder at the ardor wherewith scholars versed in Eastern languages and lore entered on this new and arduous career of discovery, though we ought to be duly grateful for the harvest of precious information reaped by their labors. The mysteries of Brahmanism have been elucidated ; the treasures of the Vêdas have been unlocked ; the world-old systems of philosophy have been examined, and unexpected light thrown on the history of a people once the masters of the intellectual world, now effete, morally and mentally paralysed.

The history of philosophy offers no more substantial truth than the valuable agency of religious and philosophical ideas in the explanation of historical events, wars, revolutions, and changes of dynasty. The history of Greece and Rome, of Western Asia, and of the mediæval epoch, is best understood when scanned by the light of the philosophical systems of those places and times. The light shed on Brahmanism by the labors of Abel-Remusat, Anquetil-Duperron, and Sir William Jones has enabled us to explain many events of Hindoo history which otherwise would have taxed the ingenuity of an Œdipus. Later researches also have given us the means of thus subjecting to the ordeal of a critical analysis the history of three hundred and fifteen millions of people united in the profession of one religious faith, the offspring of a system of morals and metaphysics created by pure reason, to which the supernatural became accreted only after a long lapse of time.

Buddhism was long recognised by Eastern travellers and scholars as the religion of the inhabitants of the high table-land north of the Himalaya, as far as the boundary of Siberia, of the Chinese, of the inhabitants of Ceylon, of the

Indians beyond the Ganges, of the dwellers in the Indian Archipelago, and the empire of Japan; but, owing to the paucity of the records which history and research brought within their reach, little was understood of the living thought which underlay and kept alive this wide-spread creed. Fanciful and extravagant notions, gathered from the then unintelligible practices of the Buddhists, together with a few disconnected, and therefore valueless, facts, gleaned by observant travellers, constituted, less than fifty years ago, all the knowledge relative to a religious system, which is interesting not alone because of its great antiquity, and of the hundreds of millions who live and die in its practice and profession; but more still because of the startling points of resemblance which it presents to the liturgical and ascetic discipline of the oldest Christian church. The first important discoveries, which opened the way to numerous others, were made in 1821, by Mr. Hodgson, the political agent of the East India Company at Nepal, who collected sixty volumes in the Sanscrit language, and two hundred and fifty in Thibetan, and presented them to the Bengal Asiatic Society. These documents stimulated philologists and archaeologists to understand those rare indexes of a hitherto comparatively unknown creed, and to swell their number by continued research. The consequence was the steadily increasing discovery of new evidences, which constantly grow in interest, and which leave but little to desire in order to render our knowledge of the religion of Buddha complete. The great discrepancy of authorities of equal value as to the date of origin and the birthplace of Buddhism rendered it difficult to decide this primary question; nor would the enquiry have given other than a barren result, were it not for the critical acumen and the great erudition of those who devoted themselves to the study of the question, and which has given us an approximative answer, built, so far as it goes, on the most unequivocal proofs. The Buddhists themselves admit the priority of Brahmanism, being the more disposed to do so no doubt, by reason of the high antiquity claimed by the latter, which places it beyond the possibility of competition in this respect. But the Buddhists of Thibet assume an origin 1877 years earlier than that contended for by the Ceylonese, the former assigning the year 2420, and the latter the year 543, before Christ, as that in which their founder lived and propagated his doctrines. Though this is the widest difference in date, yet minor ones exist, and Bohnen gives

a tabular statement of thirty-five different periods at which Siddhartha lived.*

The concurrence of Mongol and Thibetan authorities in favor of the earlier epoch, would give great force to the opinion but for the equal uniformity found among the Ceylonese. While admitting, therefore, the possible truth of the former view, we will adopt the later period as sustained by proofs from other sources. The Chinese annals, compiled by Pan-Kon about the middle of the first Christian century, mention the worship paid to a golden statue of Buddha by the people of Hiong-Non, one hundred and twenty years before Christ; nor can we suppose that a system, taking its origin in India, could have thus spread, and become the national religion of so distant a people in less time than would bring us quite near to the period in question. But authorities on this point are abundant; nor is it necessary to do more than merely indicate the principal ones.

Herodotus† speaks of certain Indian tribes who eschew the flesh of animals and live on vegetable diet alone, a description to which none but the followers of Buddha answer. Megasthenes, on the authority of Strabo,‡ penetrated India as far as Patalipoutra thirty years after the death of Alexander the Great, and there discovered a sect called the Sarmanes (an evident corruption of the Sanscrit word *śramanas*, meaning steady or invariable, an epithet which the Buddhists still retain), who were opposed to the Brahmans, who abstained from wine and lived in a state of celibacy. It is evident that none but the Buddhists are here meant. In accounting for the silence of the followers of Alexander, especially Onesicritus, Nearchus, and Aristobulus, on a subject of so much importance, we must bear in mind that the Macedonian expedition did not penetrate further than the banks of the Indus and the Hypasis, while Buddhism had not as yet extended as far as the Punjab, but flourished in the country around Patalipoutra, where the third general council was held, and where it was first noticed by Megasthenes. The testimony of Clement of Alexandria strengthens that of Megasthenes; for, as the former has derived all his information on Indian philosophy from the latter, and as he was the first among Christian writers to mention Buddha by name,§ it is highly probable that the word has occurred in some portion of the writings of Megasthenes now lost.

* Böhlen, *Ancient India*, vol. i., p. 315.

† *Lib. iii.*, c. 100.

‡ *P. 712*, edit. Casaub.

§ *Stromat.*, edit. Sylburg, l. i., p. 205.

But monuments and inscriptions in the Sanscrit and Pali languages, discovered every day in India, place the antiquity of Buddhism beyond all question. About thirty years ago, Mr. James Prinsep deciphered several inscriptions engraved on rocks, stones, and pillars. These were in the dialect of Magadha, one of the most interesting countries of India, and where the countless relics and traditions of Buddhism are to be found. These inscriptions contained the edicts of a certain monarch named Pyadasi, whom George Turnour, already thoroughly acquainted with the Pali monuments of Ceylon, proved to be identical with Açoka, one of the first kings of Magadha, whose conversion to Buddhism is related in the Mahavamca, and whose accession to the throne is stated, in the Dipavamca, to have taken place about two hundred and eighteen years after the death of Cakyamouni, at the time of Alexander the Great, or about three hundred and twenty-five years before the Christian era. Still later discoveries made at Guirnar, Guzarata, Dhauli, Dehli, Allahabad, Radhia, &c., present the same result, even the variety of the dialects employed strengthening the conclusion.

These are but a few of the arguments by which the antiquity of Buddhism may be demonstrated; and though they do not establish with precision the epoch at which the founder of this ancient religion first promulgated his doctrines, yet they leave little doubt that Buddhism had its origin many centuries previous to the Christian era. Most authorities agree that the founder of Buddhism was the son of an Indian king, and that the country of his birth was the first scene of his religious labors. But Sir William Jones, more in the spirit of a zealous antiquary than an impartial observer, differed from this opinion, assigning as the reason of his dissent the curly-headed appearance of the Buddhist statues found in Central India, which, he contended, indicated an Ethiopic origin. Herein, the sagacity of the learned orientalist was greatly at fault, for this peculiarity is not confined to Buddhist images, but is also observed among the Brahmins, and is, moreover, one of the thirty-two signs which, according to the Buddhists, distinguished the founder of the sect, the type of perfect manhood. As a result of the researches made by Hodgson, the Hungarian Csoma, Wilson, and Turnour, we are in possession of nearly all the canonical sacred books of Buddhism drawn up from time to time, and approved by three

general councils. These are in different languages, and have been discovered in widely distant countries, which fact greatly enhances the force of their authority in those particulars wherein they agree.

The works discovered by Hodgson, at Nepal, were written in Sanscrit, and were found in Thibet translated into the language of that country. Similar translations from other Sanscrit books were also discovered in Thibet by M. Csoma, while Mr. Schmidt, of the Academy of St. Petersburg, found some translated from the Thibetan into the language of the Mongols. In addition to these, Mr. Turnour discovered in Ceylon a number of Buddhistic works in the Pali language, said to have been introduced into that country three hundred and sixteen years before Christ.

These, with the *Lalitavistara* in the Chinese language, constitute the principal authorities from which all our information relative to the life and doctrines of Buddha has been drawn. From Sanscrit works translated by M. E. Burnouf, we learn that the first general council, convened at Radjagriha, divided the canonical books into three sets:—those which contain the moral precepts, or the *Soutras*; those containing metaphysical speculations or dogmas of faith, called *Abhidharma*; and those on liturgical and ecclesiastical discipline, *Vinaya*. Owing to the circumstances which first directed the attention of Buddha to the necessity of a religious reformation, positive doctrines or dogmas of belief were considered of subordinate importance, while a new standard of morals, which would lift the minds of the people nearer to the Divinity, and would rescue them from the debasing influence of Brahmanism, was deemed a pressing need. The *Lalitavistara* contains a recital of those circumstances, but so immeshed in legendary matter that we can give but an imperfect account of them here. Towards the end of the seventh century before the Christian era, Buddha was born in the city of Kapilavaston, near the mountains of Nepal, a little to the north of the present territory of Oude. The name Siddhartha was bestowed on him by his father, but after he had embraced the religious state he was better known under the name of Cakyamouni, which means hermit. Educated with great care by his father, and being of a very thoughtful mood, he applied himself diligently to the study of philosophy and religion. At that time Brahmanism was the only form of religion known in India, and Cakyamouni, judging it by its consequences, declared it imperfect. He

saw that, notwithstanding the claims to great sanctity and wisdom asserted by the priests of Brahma, they failed to draw the masses to God, and that, instead of pure religion, the grossest superstition and the profoundest ignorance reigned throughout the country. Impressed with this deplorable condition of humanity, he felt that morals, and not faith, were needed, and so he gave himself to the study of practical religion and the spiritual wants of man. Herein the founder of Buddhism gave one great evidence of his fitness to perform the *rôle* of reformer, for at all times men will be found ready to discuss every question connected with the origin and destiny of the race, while few there are with charity strong enough, and energy of will sufficient to undertake the reform of the masses, their alienation from the grossness of the flesh, and their conversion to spirituality and the practice of virtue.

This practical character of Buddhism is its distinguishing feature, and though the original formulary of belief became, in course of time, disfigured and perverted by ignorance and superstition, it never totally lost its primitive character. The deep study of the spiritual necessities of the people, to which Cakyamouni devoted himself, the consideration of the means by which they could be lifted from the slough of the senses and be led to the vision of things beyond the natural order, impressed on Buddhism a character so deeply rooted that it manifests itself even to-day, amid the corruptions of the Lamas of Thibet; so that, in studying the means taken by its founder to improve the spiritual condition of mankind, we will best understand the essence of this strange medley of sublime truths and degrading error. Cakyamouni felt that all unhappiness originated in ignorance, that ignorance rendered men the creatures of the senses, by which they are deluded and constantly ensnared into error. Though knowing this, yet he taught that, before men's eyes could be purged of the scales of ignorance, their hearts should be purified, and their affections weaned from the deceitful pleasures of the world; and, therefore, instead of making knowledge the starting-point, he rather made it the term and aim of religious life, the goal to which men are admitted when they have disciplined their hearts to virtue, subdued their passions, and tempered their affections according to the law. The most serious consequence of ignorance is pain, to which we are constantly victims, and which is the fruit of unbridled passion and desire.

This is the principle on which Buddhist morality rests. This is the condition of man by nature, which it is the mission of Buddhism to change by proposing a standard of perfect morals. The haven to which this code of morals will conduct us is designated Nirvana, and the code is called The Way of Salvation. This Way of Salvation possesses eight parts, all essential to our eternal deliverance, and, as they are found in one shape or another in all the sacred books, we will present a brief *résumé* of them here.

The first condition is orthodox faith, or a belief in the supremacy of the Buddha; the next is correctness of judgment, to ensure us against error and to dispel doubts; the third condition is perfect veracity, implying a deep abhorrence of the smallest deviation from truth, under any pretext; the fourth is purity of intention, by which the motives of our conduct are made conformable to the divine law; the fifth is the profession of religion as a means of subsistence, but this seems to have been framed for those especially destined to a religious life; the sixth condition is the proper application of our mind to the law; the seventh is the possession of a faithful memory, by which we are guaranteed against error with respect to our past actions, and, finally, the eighth is steady contemplation, which lifts our minds from earth to the eternal calm of the Nirvana. Cakyamouni devoted six years to meditation and profound study before he discovered that ignorance and desire are the root of all evil and that our liberation can be effected only by satisfying the eight conditions here mentioned. Though ignorance is the fruitful source of pain, yet Buddhism proposes the extinction of the latter as its principal object, though it professes to cure ignorance at the same time. The illogicality of this proceeding is to be accounted for by the total absence of any effort on the part of Buddha to explain the mystery of man's origin. Buddhism takes man just as he is, and, waiving the purely theoretical question as to how he came on earth, it confines itself to a consideration of the means by which he can be rendered happy forever. These considerations engaged the entire attention of Cakyamouni, and the results of his speculation are thus summed up in the decrees of the first general council: Pain is the inevitable condition of human life; passion, ignorance, and desire are its source; pain can cease only with our absorption into the Nirvana, and there are eight conditions indispensable to that absorption. These four truths underlie the whole edifice of

Buddhism, and we shall see how its wonderful system of ascetic morality is developed upon them. Since passion and desire are numbered among the sources of pain, our unceasing efforts should be directed to subjecting them to the control of the will, and by a system of wary vigilance so hold them in check that we may become their complete master. This is the first and most important deduction from the four truths, and all the moral precepts, which run into numberless details, have for their end the triumph of the will over the passions.

Though the principle that pain is the result of concupiscence, and that this, therefore, must be held in subjection, may not be strictly true, we cannot but admire the practical consequences which flow therefrom, and the beneficial influence they exercised on the morals and conduct of men. The principle once established that the will must gain the supremacy over the passions, we no longer wonder at the system of ascetic morality prescribed by Buddha. Celibacy, monasticism, mendicity, voluntary poverty, mortification of the senses, all those features of Buddhistic morality which are so strongly analogous to the ascetic system of the Catholic Church, no longer surprise us; they are but the logical consequences of a principle of doubtful truth. How unphilosophical, therefore, have been the attempts made by Voltaire and his friends, to charge the ascetic discipline of the Catholic Church with being an abortion of Buddhism. To refute the opinion of Voltaire, we have only to remember that it rests on no stronger basis than the analogy referred to, and is, therefore, a mere assumption the validity of which cannot be sustained. We have seen that the ethics of Buddha flow from the principle that ignorance, passion, and desire are the root of all evil, and that, this principle being granted, nothing could be more natural than the moral system thence resulting. In the Christian code, purity, voluntary poverty, humility, and mortification of the senses are practised for their own sakes, and the subjection of the passions to reason and will is recommended, not for the purpose of enlightenment or the extirpation of ignorance, but that our natures might become purified. Notwithstanding, therefore, that Buddhism inculcates many of the practices of Christianity, it does so on entirely different principles; and, no matter how strong the analogy between them, the difference in the principles destroys the theory of Voltaire, for similar consequences often proceed

from widely differing premises. With respect to sacrifices, there has not been, nor is there, a religion which does not proclaim the necessity of some oblation to the Divinity, under the name of sacrifice. We all know that the Jews, Greeks, and Romans deemed burnt-offerings an essential part of religion, while other nations offered the fruits of the earth, wine, corn, &c., as propitiatory and eucharistic oblations to the Deity. The various Christian sects likewise admit the necessity of sacrifice; for, while the Protestant denominations insist that prayers and good works are "that clean oblation" offered up "from the rising of the sun even to the going down," the Catholics, Greeks, and the Eastern Christians consider the Mass the only true sacrifice.

Now among all these religions, so diametrically opposed to each other in most things, we find this necessity of a sacrifice to God constantly inculcated, and, though the manner of its performance be exceedingly varied, we see the essential idea of an offering contained in all. From this we would infer that sacrifice of some sort is an essential feature of all positive forms of religion, and that it denotes the yearnings of the human heart for union with God. But it would be unfair to suppose that each succeeding religion borrowed the notion of sacrifice from forms that preceded it, for how could even Christianity have frayed into so many countless sects, often animated with feelings of intense mutual hostility, and still be uniform in this? Yet the opinion of Voltaire and those who agree with him, is nothing but an assumption of this sort. They suppose that, because Buddhism presented some points of analogy with the asceticism of the Catholic Church, the latter was consequently indebted therefor to the former. Arguing in this manner, it could be proved that Christianity was an offshoot of paganism, because the Christians build churches as the heathens built temples, because solemn rites and festivals, days of thanksgiving and penitence were observed by the latter as well as by the former. Analogy of this sort is no help to demonstration, and is a very different thing from the analogy of Bishop Butler. If we grant that Buddhist celibacy is perforce derived from Christianity, we must, *a priori*, admit that Christian celibacy was foreshadowed in the vestal virgins of Rome; that the idea of community life, with the rules of silence and castigation of the senses, was taken from the school of Pythagoras, where the disciples were compelled to observe a rigid silence for five years. More

than this, an analogy might be made out between the *aqua lustralis* of the Romans and the holy water of the Catholics; the invocation of the saints and the adoption of patron saints, with the worship of the Greek and Roman tutelary deities. We know that Stillingfleet, Fletcher, and other controversial writers of the Protestant Church have urged these analogies against the Catholics, and that the latter have answered them elaborately; but it must be allowed their replies would lack point if they claim that Buddhism, as far as analogous with Christianity, is a graft. We might as well say that the practice of sprinkling ashes on the foreheads of the faithful on Ash-Wednesday morning, after the pleasures and excitements of the carnival, was typified in these lines of Virgil:

"Hi animorum motus atque hæc certamina tanta
Pulveris exiguæ jactu quiescent."

It is true that a far greater multitude of minor ceremonies and practices among the Lamas of Thibet are the same as those in the liturgy of the Catholic Church; that Lamas wear the mitre, the cross, and the cope; that they have the censer, with its movable cover, suspended by chains, and opening or closing at pleasure; that they pray with beads; that they make spiritual retreats and pilgrimages; that they have public processions, prayers in the form of litany, psalmody in alternate choirs, exorcisms, and even practices corresponding with the invocation of the saints; but it being admitted that such analogies in one instance prove nothing, their validity as an argument fails altogether. It is not with a view to impugn or advocate the claims of any church that we offer these remarks, nor, indeed, is any such spirit traceable in them; it is our aim rather to elucidate, as far as we are able, a question much debated by Christian writers of the same denomination, and which does not affect in any manner the integrity of any religious creed.

But it is far easier to subvert old theories than to advance and establish new ones, and this especially, in the question before us, since history refuses to illumine the way, without whose light all is mere conjecture. It may be, as we have heretofore stated, that a logical chain, the links of which we cannot see, binds each practice of Buddhism to another, just as the general idea of asceticism attaches itself to the principle that we must extirpate ignorance and concupiscence, by holding the senses in check. Indeed, if any view of the subject recommends itself to us in preference to another, it

is this; and if we possessed in those matters the profound knowledge and ingenuity of Cuvier in natural history, we might be able from one usage or ceremony of Buddhism to trace out the whole structure, just as the naturalist built the mastodon on a single bone. Even in systems constructed on unphilosophical principles, a natural logic conducts to consequences which however absurd, are nevertheless correct deductions. Now, if we could trace the various processes of reasoning by which these conclusions are reached, we would often be less severe in our judgment of doctrines and opinions, as we would then see that, however apparently absurd, they are the logical results of a principle, the depth and breadth of which, were not perceived by those who first adopted it. If, in addition, we could understand the laws which govern the human mind, even in its anomalies and vagaries, and could see how, through the operation of those laws facts and ideas, apparently disconnected, become mutually interlinked, we might be able to point out the relationship of every tenet and practice of Buddhism, and their dependence on some fundamental principle, without resorting to any explanation *ab extrâ*.

The practice of aural confession, with contrition and satisfaction, constitutes one of the most striking points of resemblance between Buddhism and the Catholic Church, and yet, without supposing any closer relation to exist between the heathen and the Christian Church, we can easily find, in the Buddhist principle, a sufficient reason for this practice. According to Buddha, the evil tendencies of the human heart are manifold and varied, and, in order that we may successfully combat them, they must be classified and divided off into *genera* and *species*. Thus the sin of sensuality admits of a division into excess at table and concupiscence of the flesh, the latter being, in turn, subdivided into lust of the eye and lust of the body, evil thoughts and evil practices, &c. This division and classification of sins constituted a true system of casuistry, wherein the enormity and punishment of each sin was distinctly specified. The more effectually to guard against the commission of any of these misdemeanors, the practice of confession was held over men as a threat *in terrorem*, as an encouragement to conversion after sin, and as a spiritual comfort to those whose souls were laden with iniquity. But, as confession without sorrow affords no guarantee against relapse into sin, it is essential that this sentiment should accompany confession, just

as satisfaction also is necessary, in order that the wrong resulting from transgression of the law may be repaired as far as possible. Thus we find confession, and its accompanying practices established among the Buddhists, on grounds of pure reason; nor do we at all deem it necessary to look further for an explanation. As this question has been much discussed, and with an unbecoming degree of acerbity, we offer in these remarks the germ of an explanation, which continued research and discovery may eventually establish to the setting aside of those views which rest on the slender basis of analogy.

In treating of the moral system of Buddha, it is necessary to keep in view the distinction between the body of the faithful, and those who devote themselves in a more special manner to the exercises of a religious life, since the more austere practices are designed only for the latter. Almsgiving and brotherly love, with an aversion for the vain pleasures of the world, are the principal duties enjoined on the people, while celibacy, solitude, mortification, penitential works, and the strictest guard over the senses are practices confined to those who are designated religious *par excellence*.

The Chinese and Ceylonese books contain the precepts and legends of Siddhartha, from which the spirit that marked the birth and first strides of Buddhism may be learned. Buddha summed up the duties of the religious in twelve precepts, which are illustrated by parables and fables, often of an extravagant and extraordinary character. The first of these duties is that all pious disciples should clothe themselves with garments picked up in cemeteries, dunghills, and on the highways. Buddha himself had set the example of wearing this very plain and coarse style of apparel, for it is related of him that a slave who had been zealously devoted to him in life, died, breathing the Buddha's name as he expired. According to the doctrine of transmigration, this good man's soul was to take up its new abode in some nobler personality, and Buddha, having taken the cere-clothes which enveloped the clay of his departed friend, fashioned them into garments that he might be in closer union with him in his new abode. Thus the practice, sanctioned by the example of Buddha himself, became universal among the brotherhood. The second duty was that all should cut and sew their own clothes, after the example of their holy founder. In the third place, the simplest and coarsest escu-

lents should be the food of all, and none were allowed to use the flesh of any living thing. The fourth injunction, and one which was enforced with the utmost strictness, was that of living on the alms of the charitable and of begging daily bread in silence. In the fifth place, there must be only one repast in the twenty-four hours, and this is to be taken after noon-tide, before which time not a morsel should pass the lips, this being the sixth observance. The seventh precept relates to habitation, and it is prescribed that the true children of Buddha shall dwell in the woods under the wide vault, where their souls may become attuned to meditation and prayer. The remaining precepts are that, in the summer time, the foliage of the trees shall afford shelter from the vicissitudes of the weather; that the weary must support their backs against no other prop than the trunk of a tree; that they must sleep in this posture, not removing their rug or carpet from the spot where they first spread it; and, finally, all must repair, at least once a month, to the cemeteries, and there spend the night in meditation on the vanity and uncertainty of human affairs. We may here observe the cumbrous and unmethodical manner of division adopted in all the Buddhist writings, where subjects are divided without reference to their mutual relation, but blindly, by numbers which often run so high that the mind is wearied in following. In adopting a complete vestment, however coarse, the Buddhists differed widely from the Brahmans, who went entirely naked, or, as they said themselves, "clothed with space" (*digambaras*).

The Buddhists certainly evinced a higher regard for the virtue so much prized by them when they sacrificed the additional austerity involved in being clad with space to the necessity of consulting the requirements of modesty. In addition to these external observances, six cardinal virtues were practised, which supplied food to the mind and courage to the soul, to do battle against the temptations of the flesh. These virtues are charity, purity, patience, courage, meditation, and knowledge. These are called transcendent virtues, and conduct the soul to the road leading to Nirvana or deliverance. The charity inculcated by Buddha is not that cold, circumspect charity which the world knows, but is a spreading flame, which stops at no consideration of self, but flies to the succor of the distressed in all circumstances. The ardent character of Buddhist charity, is well illustrated in several legends which are related of Buddha himself, and

his immediate disciples. Thus, we read that he once delivered his body as a prey to a hungry tigress which had not the strength to suckle its whelps, also that a neophyte flung himself into the sea to appease the storm-spirit which threatened destruction to the ship. Buddha loved the race with a strong, abiding love, and did not preach the practice of his moral precepts through a motive of mere hostility to depraved tendencies, so much as an anxious desire to secure the greatest sum of happiness for his fellow-men; an object, which he rightly understood, could never be accomplished without uprooting that concupiscence which sways men to vice, and, consequently, to unhappiness. Hence he strove to develop the entire nature, and so imbue it with the spirit of his religion, that the practice of every virtue would be its natural and spontaneous expression. Charity felt the aid of humility and chastity, while forbearance and gentleness of manner were promoted by a strict vigilance over eye and tongue. Hence, too, moderation towards institutions that were adverse to Buddhist doctrines; for, while the Brahmans waged relentless war against Buddha, he never resorted to violence as a means of propagandism, and even tolerated, among his own followers, the division into castes, as established among the Brahmans, though without any official recognition. Indeed, it may be mentioned as one of the chief merits of Buddhism, that it treats men alike, without reference to rank, wealth, or influence. M. E. Burnouf, in his *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, reports a saying of Buddha, which admirably illustrates this spirit of the new religion. One day some Brahmans sneered at his efforts to convert a pariah, or individual of the lowest caste, when the reformer replied: "My law is a law of grace unto all; and what is a law of grace? One according to which the meanest may become religious." This strong spirit of love, restless in its efforts to do the greatest amount of good to mankind, impressed itself indelibly on the doctrines of Buddha; and, however much it may have been incrustated and paralysed by the ignorance and contracted nature of those who remodelled the work of the great founder, it is at least discoverable in the essential features of the Buddhist religion. Even Buddha's logic, unlike that of most Indian philosophers, was a logic of the heart as well as of the head; for, though he favored celibacy by example and precept, yet he hesitated not to approve the institution of marriage, and studied how the greatest happiness would accrue from a due observance of the relations which

grow out of it. In a very beautiful and touching legend, a disciple of Buddha, named Bhagavat, is thus represented addressing a multitude of religious in the garden of Anatha-Pindika: "The Great Spirit is with those families where parents are loved, honored, and obeyed. And why? Because parents are the Great Spirit for the children of such a family." And again: "Parents discharge a difficult and onerous duty towards their children; for them, the mother undergoes the pangs of labor, more poignant than the battle-stroke, and the father toils incessantly to give them bread; therefore are they to be loved, honored, and obeyed."

The innumerable legends of Buddha, show that glorious results rewarded his constant inculcation of domestic, as well as heroic virtue, and that under his law men led lives of hidden worth, while the world proclaimed the brilliant virtues of others. Among the many examples wherewith the Soutras abound, we will cite one which finely illustrates the spirit of domestic life according to the Buddhist *regime*. The son of King Açoka, of Takshasila was sent by his father to administer the government in some distant part of the kingdom. Scarcely had he reached his destination, when a royal edict came, declaring him outlawed, and sentencing him to have his eyes plucked out. This cruel sentence was pronounced at the solicitation of Rishya-Rikshita, one of the king's wives, whose criminal advances the young prince had repelled. When Kounala, such was the name of the prince, heard the cruel sentence, so soon to be executed, he remained unmoved and spoke as follows: "For this reason did the sages tell me that all things are vain and transitory in this world, that no one here is in a permanent state, but that perpetual change is the condition of mortal existence. I now clearly see this, and let the executioner pluck out my eyes at once. I freely allow them, for they have served me the only useful purpose they could, when they showed me the emptiness and vanity of all things human." Then turning to his executioner, he said: "My friend, pluck out one eye first and place it in my hand." Which done, Kounala continued: "Why do you no longer behold what you saw a moment before, O vile globe of flesh? How those are to be pitied who cling to you and seek all pleasure through you." When the other eye was plucked out, he resumed: "No longer do I see with the eyes of the flesh, but, instead thereof, I see with the perfect eye of the soul. I am cast forth by the King my father, but I have become the son of the great

King of the law, whose child I am now called. I have fallen from earthly greatness, but have acquired the sovereignty of the law, which destroys pain and sorrow." Soon after this Kounala ascertained that he had been a victim to the perfidy and resentment of the Queen Rishya-Rikshita, whereon he exclaimed: "May she long preserve happiness, life, and power, who has assured to me a never-failing advantage, for, thanks to her, I cannot now be lured away by the frivolous sights of the world." When the king, his father, learned that Kounala had been unjustly treated in this merciless manner, he wished to put to death the Queen Rishya-Rikshita, but the prince magnanimously interfered, saying that, if he deserved not the punishment he had suffered for the crime that was imputed to him, he at least deserved it for some fault committed at some other time. Whether this legend be founded in fact or be the work of fancy, it is equally interesting as exhibiting the spirit which Buddha had inspired into his followers, and the Christian-like forbearance and forgiveness he preached and practised. The Soutras contain many other legends illustrating the same spirit, but we will confine ourselves to the following, as best revealing the tendency of Buddhist morality.

Pournā, the son of a slave, had become wealthy by successful traffic, and was respected by his fellow-townsmen for his probity, but his eyes were still closed to the light of the law. Once he was travelling on sea, when he heard some faithful merchants of Cravast chanting night and morning, stanzas from Sthaviras and the Solitaries, and the spark of faith was enkindled in his soul. From that moment he devoted himself exclusively to the practices of his new-found religion, renounced all his worldly effects, and conformed to its strictest requirements. Filled with a holy zeal to carry the standard of the law among new nations, he expressed his purpose of converting a neighboring tribe noted for its barbarous habits and utter degradation. Bhagavat strove to dissuade him from this perilous undertaking by proposing to him the following considerations: "The men of Cronaparanta," said Bhagavat, "among whom you wish to take up your abode, are cruel, treacherous, and insolent; when they shall assail you with taunts and revilings, what will you think of them?" "I," replied Pournā, "the men of Cronaparanta treat me thus, I shall think within myself, these men of Cronaparanta are assuredly good men, since they neither stone me nor strike me with their hands." "But if," replied

Bhagavat, "they should stone you and strike you with their fists, what would you think?" "I would consider them mild and good for not beating me with rods or striking me with the sword." "But if," persisted Bhagavat, "they should so beat you and strike you, what would be your opinion of them?" "I would thank them," answered Purna, "that they did not take away my life." "But if they should take away your life?" "Ah, then I would sincerely thank them for thus freeing me from those wretched bonds of the flesh while I was engaged in the discharge of a sacred duty." "Well done, Purna," spoke Buddha, "you can go to Cronaparanta, for your imperturbable patience will surely triumph over the obstinacy of these men. Purna succeeded in his mission, for, opposing mildness to persecution and patience to injustice, he triumphed over men's hearts, and rendered the people of Cronaparanta subject to the law. How forcibly the spirit of this legend recalls the precepts of a better and holier Teacher, whose law was perfect, not in one point alone, but in all?

We have before stated that Buddha and his followers propagated their doctrines by the tongue and by the pen, never appealing to the sword. Even when kings and princes and men of high rank flocked to the standard of the reformers, they forbore to retaliate on their adversaries, and often checked the undue zeal of their followers, whose desire to see the success of the new religion often impelled them to smite those who opposed its spread. Strong in the conviction of the truth, Buddha sallied forth into the world without fear in his soul or doubt in his mind, and opposed to the violence and prejudice he encountered at every step the calm of conviction and a mildness which broke down the most formidable barriers envy, ignorance, and hate could oppose. As Mahomet enforced his doctrines at the sword's point, he quickly won thousands to his standard; but, as Buddha discarded the sword and preached with the voice of mildness, he counted his followers not by thousands, but by millions. But this method of propagandism was entirely consistent with the spirit of the Buddhist religion; for a system whose foundation-stone was love could not brook to coerce men even to good, since love would have no share in such a counsel. Afterwards, this system of proselytism became a leading feature of Buddha's religion, and Pyadasi, who lived over two hundred years after the time of Buddha, brings this important subject before the attention

of the religious, lest the cardinal aim of Buddha's life and works should be forgotten, viz : to gain men over to the faith by conviction, and not by force. The words of Pyadasi have been found among the inscriptions of Guirnar, and are as follows : "Pyadasi, the beloved King of the Devas, honors all creeds equally, and respects the beggar as the chieftain. But what the beloved king honors and esteems beyond aught else is the protection and increase of all religions. Indeed, honor is due to none but the true religion; but, by never persecuting other forms, we are sure to wrong no one, and thus is the true religion still more honored. Circumstances sometimes require that we respect and do honor to false religions, for, while we exhibit this spirit of tolerance towards others, we shall ensure the same for ourselves, and, besides, no more desirable character could be won by us than that we profess a religion of mildness and good-will unto all. Whoever endeavors to exalt his own religion by attempting to belittle that of others, errs egregiously, and whoso says, "Let us lift our light on high, that it may extinguish all others," thereby belims that light. Thus it is that harmony and good-will alone promote the interests of true religion. Let all men, of every creed, strive to be wise and virtuous, and the light of truth will shine upon all."

Surely none can fail to admire the charity displayed in these utterances, though it may be questioned whether it is showing fair play to truth to lend to it no greater assistance than to error; yet the facts point to a different conclusion, for, even in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era, Chinese pilgrims travelled over immense territories and encountered untold dangers to procure genuine versions of Buddhist sacred books, so strong, even then, was the influence of this mild system of proselytism. In the year 399, A D., Fa-Hien left Tchangan, in the north of China, crossed Tartary, scaled the mountains of Thibet, crossed the Indus at different points, followed the stream of the Ganges to its mouth, took shipping for Ceylon, stopped at Java, and returned to his own country after an absence of fifteen years, having traversed in that time the space of three thousand miles by land and over six thousand by sea, solely for the purpose of procuring exact copies of the sacred books, which had undergone corruption in China.*

In like manner, Hiouen-Thsang proceeded on a pilgrimage

* Foe-Koue-Ki, by Abel-Remusat, p. 363.

two hundred years subsequently, with the same object in view, and filled with a spirit of intrepid zeal to collect as many original documents relating to the life and teachings of Buddha as a vigorous and unremitting search could bring to light. He spent sixteen years in this arduous work, and during that time he braved countless dangers, and wrestled with sickness, shipwreck, hunger, fatigue, and the many shapes of death. He commenced his enquiries at Oudiyana, and visited Punjab and Cashmere. He traversed the various kingdoms lying between the Ganges and the mountains of Nepal, he visited the places made illustrious by the virtues of Cakyamouni, and returned home freighted with precious relics and mementoes of the life and doctrines of his master. The religion which could inspire such dauntless zeal in its votaries, so many hundred years after the date of its establishment, must have much truth in it; for truth, though mingled with errors, still endures and begets fruit, even to the end of time. But the truth of Buddhism is entirely in its system of morals, for its metaphysics are monstrous. The leading idea of Buddhist philosophy is the transmigration of souls, or metempsychosis, which is common to it with Brahmanism. The Buddhists, however, push the idea of transmigration much further than the Brahmans; for, while the latter confined the transmigration of human souls to human bodies, the Buddhists extend it to the bodies of the lower animals and even to inanimate objects. Thus it is related in the *Talitavistara* that Cakyamouni entered his mother's womb as a young elephant with six tusks, and that he then underwent myriads of new existences, under as many shapes, before he became Bodhisattva, or Buddha, *in posse*.

In the legend of *Samgha-Rakshita* it is said that souls migrate into walls, pillars, trees, flowers, fruits, ropes, brooms and vessels, according to the enormity and character of the sins they may have committed.* "Those," says Bhagavat, "who are transformed into walls have defiled the floor of the sacred assembly with their spittle; those who exist under the form of fruits and flowers have abused the fruits and flowers of the assembly; those changed into ropes have broken through the ropes of the assembly; while those who have become brooms have refused to sweep the floors."

It is hard to conceive how such puerilities could have emanated from the same source as those sublime moral truths we have indicated in the ethical code of Buddha.

* Uppun, Sacred and Historical Book of Ceylon, tome 111, p. 269.

Yet, however melancholy, such is the fact, and the whole system of Buddhist metaphysics may be deemed a similar tissue of inanities and wild speculations. Buddha took man as he found him and moulded him to virtue, profiting by his capacities for good. This was a task comparatively easy, for reformers of public morals need but to be good men themselves in order to shape the minds of others in the same direction. But something more is needed to create systems of philosophy. Taking man as he is, Buddha neglected to look backward, and devoted his whole attention to the future. The future, however, cannot be studied without a knowledge of the past, and Buddha strove in vain to determine the conditions of man's existence after death when he neglected to enquire into those which preceded his birth. Hence his philosophy lacked the character of introspection and psychological analysis which belonged to the systems of the Greek and Roman schools. Every principle of ontology and the essence of beings is violated in the alternating destruction and restoration of personality involved in the transmigration of souls into the lower order of animals and inanimate objects. It is true Buddha makes a distinction between life and existence, and supposes that the former is a transition from existence, induced by concupiscence; but this distinction is subjective, and based on no data of reason or tradition. However, a very elaborate theory is built thereon, and full explanation is given of the various steps by which inchoate life or existence passes into absolute life through the medium of concupiscence. Buddhism, therefore, fails to offer anything like an adequate reason for man's existence, and this failure has influenced the theory of his destiny.

In examining Buddha's views on the ultimate destiny of the human race, we are struck by the strange absence of the name of the Divinity. Buddha is the perfection of being, a state which it is possible for every observer of the law to reach, but, beyond that there is no being who poises the universe and controls the destinies of men. There is a state called Nirvana, which men may attain after passing through various grades of existence and having become perfect in the law. Some writers contend that this Nirvana is absorption into God, though no allusion to the Divine Being is made, while others say that it is mere annihilation, to which man is reduced after successively divesting himself of the various attributes of existence. M. Burnouf and M. Saint-

Hilaire incline to the latter opinion. The remarkable reticence of Buddha on the name and attributes of the Divinity, and the tendency to reduce the number of the positive marks of existence involved in the various processes by which Nirvana is reached, induced the supposition that Buddha ignored the existence of God, and proposed annihilation as the supreme destiny of man. According to this view we are forced to believe that a vast proportion of the human family have been sunk for ages in a species of negative atheism ; that the name or idea of God was never known among them. This is a harsh doctrine, and we imagine if a different opinion can be fairly reached it will be far more consoling. The great curse of life is pain, according to Buddha, and this is abolished by absorption into the Nirvana. The question, then, is to determine, as nearly as possible, the idea attached to this term by the Indian Buddhists. If we examine the philological sense of the word, we are not much enlightened, as we find it composed of the negative particle *nir* and the radical *va*, which means to blow. M. Saint-Hilaire infers, too hastily we think, that a total extinction is already implied in this etymology. Breath ceases with life ; but existence may still continue. Buddha distinguished four degrees of Nirvana, which are entitled Dhyana.

The first is reached when, after years of profound study and meditation, man has conquered ignorance and sin. In this degree he is impeccable, because knowledge has revealed to him so clearly the hideousness of vice that he is shielded against it by a sentiment of abhorrence ; but in this degree man is still occupied with the affairs of the world. In the second degree he is partially weaned from human ties and fixes his mind on that higher state which he hopes to reach ; as his thoughts become centred on this one point, the other faculties of his soul become dormant, and he experiences a sweet sense of inward peace, that indefinable satisfaction which marks the commencement of ecstasy. In the third degree this pleasure vanishes, and so closely is the ascetic wrapt in contemplation of the Nirvana that even the sentiment of consciousness is nearly destroyed. There is yet, however, a sense of bodily well-being, and memory retains its seat. In the fourth degree consciousness ceases ; there is perfect impassibility and indifference to all the influences that affect the soul. This is the perfection of earthly felicity, according to Buddha, for it exempts man from the changing fortunes of life, from pain, poverty, and guilt.

This is the doctrine of mysticism which we find reproduced with trifling diversities at different epochs of the world's history. It is the mysticism of the Alexandrian school, the ecstasy of Plotinus and Gerson, the quietism of Molinus and Madame Guyon, and the convulsions of Matnew of Paris and his companions. In this, therefore, there is nothing wonderful, and, though ascetics may spend years enwrapped in this exaltation of the faculties, the religion of Buddha is still free from the imputation of atheism. But after death there are two alternatives, either subjection to the hated law of transmigration, or absorption into Nirvana. Some maintain that existence, which the Buddhists connect with the idea of metempsychosis, is especially hateful to them, and Nirvana is therefore, a state where existence ceases, and they quote expressions from the Soutras which seem to favor this opinion. Thus we read in one of the books of the Soutras: "In Nirvana there is no longer aggregation of parts, there is no longer existence, there is no longer anything." But then the same Soutras say that men sometimes return from Nirvana and help those on earth by their examples and precepts. The words used by Anouroudha in describing the death of Buddha are quoted by M. Saint-Hilaire as indicating this state of nihilism, which he considers synonymous with the perfect Nirvana: "With a spirit which did not flag, he suffered the agony of death: as the extinction of a lamp, so his spirit departed."

But this figurative form of expression is quite commonly used by those who entertain no such views of man's future, and we certainly would consider it a very slender basis for an opinion if we should thence conclude that they rejected the belief in the immortality of the soul. The past was a mystery to Buddha, the depth and significance of which he never strove to sound, hence his views of a future state were clouded and uncertain; but this implies neither nihilism nor atheism. As Buddhism recognises the principle that infractions of the law are punished, so it implicitly admits the existence of some supreme power which takes cognizance of right and wrong doing, and awards fitting wages to both. This power, therefore, must be intelligent, since it discriminates between the various degrees and species of vice and virtue; and it must possess power superhuman to render the forces of nature the agents of its wishes. We think that in this manner it might be shown that, so far from professing atheism, the religion of Buddha is eminently

deistic, nay, even pantheistic; for on the supposition that God exists, all beings are finally absorbed in Him. Nor do we deem the difficulty so formidable of reconciling the expressions of the *Soutras* which point to total annihilation with the existence of God. It is true that the *Soutras* abound with such expressions, and that the intense abhorrence all Buddhists entertain for transmigration makes the destruction of personality and consciousness the only condition of release from transmigration especially desirable; but even that condition is far from involving annihilation, since personality and thereby consciousness cease when the soul has been absorbed into the Divinity. In deed, we are not aware that an expression occurs in the *Soutras* which may not be reconciled with such an absorption without forcing us to the nihilistic conclusion. As for Buddha's silence concerning the name and attributes of the Divinity, it may be said that either a sense of reverence for God's sanctity deterred him from pronouncing the holy name, or ignorance led him to confound the person of God with the state he entitled *Nirvana*. We are far from considering that the question is definitively settled by what we have here said, especially as the authority of that profound orientalist, M. Eugene Burnouf, is ranged against us.

Such is an imperfect sketch of the spirit and tendencies of ancient Buddhism as it came from the teeming brain of its creator, a combination of profound truth and sublime morality with monstrous error. Buddha accepted metempsychosis from the Brahmins and pushed it to its most degrading consequences; his philosophical speculations were puerile and fantastical, not even displaying the questionable merit of ingenuity and originality, and his singular reticence as to the Divinity has exposed him to the grave suspicion of atheism.

On the other hand, however, no human eye has more deeply penetrated human nature, nor more clearly beheld its countless needs, its weakness, and its strength. Buddha looked into himself, and there studied the puzzles of the heart, he discovered what there is in man available for good, and thus skilfully he turned it to account; he saw what qualities and propensities of our nature tended to draw us to evil and these he took means to eradicate. Buddhism grew up with its virtues and defects and spread through the entire East, bearing such fruit as we see to-day. Man can never advance when his starting-point is a false principle, and, though grand mistakes sometimes lead to grand results,

such results are but temporary, for time is the only unfailing test of truth.

Buddhism has undergone many changes since the date of its foundation; a hierarchy has been built up, councils have met and reduced the doctrines to a more rigid shape; new usages have been established and old ones abolished; indeed the entire system has changed in all except the doctrine of transmigration. In its place we now behold a blending of Brahmanism and ancient Buddhism, and even Fetichism. However, the pure religion of Buddha was held in the highest respect, and the country was in a very flourishing condition towards the close of the seventh century, when India was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-Tsang, who wrote a most interesting description of what he saw and heard among the Indian followers of Buddha. At this time the memory of Buddha was held in the highest respect, and the country was dotted with colossal statues erected in his honor, to which the faithful offered up garlands of flowers and wreaths of green branches. Indeed, if we are to take the account of Hiouen-Tsang, India was at that time a sort of blissful Arcadia, where all lived in harmony and peace. But Buddhism at this period is so very different from the religion of the founder as to constitute a separate theme and the subject of a special study. So also with modern Buddhism, as we find it described in the pages of the Abbé Hue and other oriental travellers; it affords materials for a most interesting treatise, and offers some instructive points of contrast with the progress and development of Christianity.

ALT. VI.—1. *History of the Conquest of Chili.* By ABBE DE MOLINA. London.

2. *Travels in Chili and La Plata.* MIER. London.

3. *Conquest of Peru.* By WM. H. PRESCOTT. Boston.

4. *The Spanish Conquest in America, &c.* By ARTHUR HELPS. London.

5. *Collection des Documents relatifs à la Découverte de l'Amerique, &c.* Publiée par la Société des Antiquaires du Nord.

6. *Journal des Observations faites en Amerique.* Par L. FEUILLE. Paris.

THERE is nothing more liable to error than a general rule in the science of government. Hence it is that the greatest

statesmen and jurists have failed to agree as to the relative advantages and disadvantages of different forms of government. One is convinced that a monarchy is the best, because that to which he has given most attention has proved prosperous and durable ; for corresponding reasons another is persuaded that an aristocracy is much better ; while a third is astonished that there can be any difference of opinion among enlightened men as to the superiority of democracy above all other forms.

At first sight this may appear ridiculous, because it seems evident that some one of the three must be wrong. Upon a closer examination, however, it is found that each has cogent arguments to adduce in support of his theory ; his opponents are obliged to admit that great states have been established on his system ; nor can they deny but what has been done several times, or even once, may be done again. The difficulty is this : it does not follow that, because one, two, or even a dozen states have flourished as monarchies or republics, others would be equally successful, though exactly modelled upon them. It must be remembered that the system which is excellent for one people—the best they could adopt—might be the ruin of another ; nay, do not the same people require different laws at different periods, those that are good and salutary at one period proving bad and oppressive at another ?

It is evident, then, that, in order to determine what sort of government would be best for any particular people, we should first know the character of that people. On nothing will more depend than on their intelligence or want of intelligence. The next question is, Do they belong, in general, to the same race ? or are they composed of several races, widely different from each other ? By this we do not mean mere difference of nationality, such as that between the English and the Germans, or between the Germans and the French, &c., as all belong to the great Caucasian family.

Now, in instituting a comparison between the republics of South America and the United States, these considerations should be kept fully in view. If they are, it will be easy to understand that there is no good reason why the destiny of the former must be that of the latter, or *vice versa* ; on the contrary, it will be seen that they have scarcely anything in common but the name of republic. It is not our habit to laud our own people, or declare them superior to all others ; not because we do not like them quite as well as those who

do, but because we do not wish to do that which, however agreeable it may be at the time, has an injurious influence. But in the present instance truth requires that the superiority of the people of the United States to those of the South American republics, in the important particulars mentioned, be fully recognised. Indeed, there would be no difference of opinion on this point between any unprejudiced men who had devoted any attention to the subject. All would agree, that the people of the United States are much more intelligent than those of any of the southern republics; and they would be equally unanimous in declaring them a purer race; for hitherto, at least, the Caucasian in the North has never mingled to any extent with either the Indian or the Negro. It is very different with the Spanish race of the South, who have mingled too freely with both.

These facts should be well understood; for it cannot be denied that thus far republicanism has proved a failure in the South American states; and the republican system is held responsible for the fact. Indeed, this has been the favorite argument of monarchical writers and orators for the last ten years; and during the continuance of the late rebellion against the Union—at least as long as it seemed to have any chance of success—they boasted that their theories must be regarded as accomplished facts. They have since had to admit, however, that, so far as the United States were concerned, they were mistaken; but for the rest their arguments have been rather strengthened than weakened.

While the great northern republic has fully vindicated itself, and taught the boldest and strongest of the European monarchies to respect and even fear it, the strongest and most influential republics of South America have permitted themselves to be attacked by a fourth-rate European power almost without resistance. We do not say that the attack on Valparaiso, by Admiral Nuñez, could have been effectually resisted when it was made; but all admit that it was not unexpected. Why was not so important a seaport fortified? Why was there not a fleet to oppose that of the Spanish admiral? Could not the ten republics of South America, not to mention Central America, get up such between them? Ought not Peru and Chili alone to have been able to resist the invader? It is notorious that Spain has not recovered her ancient vigor; she would not have dared to treat a fifth-rate European state as she has Chili and Peru; then are we to infer that the latter have degenerated rather than acquired

strength and courage since they established their independence, if, indeed, a people not able to defend themselves against so weak a power, more than four thousand miles distant from them, can be said to be independent?

But the feebleness, or want of spirit which the southern republics thus exhibit at the present moment, must not be laid to the charge of republicanism. Leaving the vigor and power of our own republic out of the question, we can turn to another which treated Spain in a very different manner when she was one of the greatest powers in the world, if not the very greatest; we need hardly say that we allude to the Dutch Republic. In a similar manner the Swiss were able to defy Austria in her palmiest days; while the glory of Venice long rivalled that of ancient Rome.

Nor can it be admitted that the soil and climate of South America are unsuited for the republican form of government, although that pretension is sometimes urged by the friends of monarchy. Let us remember that when the Spaniards first landed in South America they found several republics, but only two kingdoms; and neither of these was so well established as the republic of Llascalea. Even, at the present day, wherever the people remain unsubjugated, as in Patagonia, the government is republican. The republics of South America continue feeble, then, not because republicanism is inferior to monarchy, or that the country is not favorable to it; but because the people are for the most part without education, and have no unity, consisting as they do of different races which have scarcely any sentiment in common with each other. Had the Mexican people been as intelligent as those of the United States, or had even half of them belonged like them to the Caucasian race, certain it is that Maximilian would not have been in Mexico to-day; the republican system would not have so utterly failed in it as to render it possible for the monarchists to carry out their project.

These peculiarities of the South American republics are too generally forgotten, even by those who undertake to decide on their destiny. There are very few in this country even of the most enlightened class, that bear them in mind. In general, Peru, Chili, the Argentine Republic, &c., are spoken of as if the inhabitants were all of the Spanish race; they are spoken of as the Swiss Republic, the Dutch Republic, or the Venetian Republic; whereas, there is not one of these to which they have any further resemblance than that they too call themselves republics.

We know that many think it is not necessary to go beyond the present time; nay, there are not a few who ridicule it as pedantic. Neither, however, are persons whose opinions are of much value; all of the opposite class think differently, and none with stronger faith than the friends of democracy. In alluding to those who are content with examining the facts as they find them, De Tocqueville remarks that we must begin higher. "We must watch the infant," he says, "in his mother's arms; we must see the first images which the external world casts upon the dark mirror of his mind, the first occurrences which he witnesses; we must hear the first words which awaken the sleeping powers of thought, and stand by his earliest efforts—if we would understand the prejudices, the habits, and the passions which will rule his life. The entire man, so to speak, is to be seen in the cradle of the child. The growth of nations presents something analogous to this; they all bear some marks of their origin. The circumstances which accompanied their birth and contributed to their development *affect the whole term of their being*. If we are able to look back to the elements of states, and to examine the oldest monuments of their history, I doubt not that we should discover in them the *primal cause* of their prejudices, the habits, the ruling passions, and, in short, of all that constitutes what is called the national character."^{*}

It was not very difficult for De Tocqueville to make this examination of the people of the United States, since, as we have already remarked, they all belong to the Caucasian race, whether we trace their ancestors to England, Scotland, Ireland, or Germany. But had he taken up the subject of democracy in South America, he would have found, as he well knew, a very different state of things. Here he would have had to do with a people whose origin puzzles the most profound ethnologists; the inhabitants of a country of whom nothing had been known in Europe, so far as authentic history informs us, before the time of Columbus, and of whose strange story we have but a very imperfect knowledge at the present day.

Yet it may be replied: "But they have long since disappeared as such; if they have not become extinct, they have at least become so closely amalgamated with the Spaniards that they must not be regarded as aborigines." But nothing can be more erroneous than this. It is true

^{*} Democracy in America, vol. i., p. 31.

that in general they have adopted the Catholic religion, retaining, however, many of their ancient pagan rites and ceremonies. As to their ancient customs, it is acknowledged by all intelligent travellers, who have spent sufficient time among them to make themselves acquainted with their character, that they remain almost unchanged. But let us see whether they bear so large a proportion to the rest of the population as would make their influence felt, morally, socially, or politically. For this purpose we turn to a work on statistics published in 1857 by Prof. Condamin, of the University of Lima, and in which he quotes from the census returns of 1853; in this we are told that the population is 2,500,000. All he can claim as of Spanish descent of this number is 900,000, including those whose parents, or ancestors intermarried with the natives, who form a very considerable proportion of the whole. The number of the descendants of the original inhabitants who have never intermarried with their conquerors is estimated at 1,400,000. If we add to these about 250,000 negroes, we may form some idea of the ethnological character of the modern Peruvians.

In Chili the preponderance of the aborigines is still greater; the proportion which they bear to the people of Spanish descent is very nearly as five to one. The average ratio in the ten republics of South America, between ten degrees north latitude and forty degrees south latitude, is at least four to one. By this, however, we do not mean any disparagement of the aborigines; nor would we have any of our readers suppose that they are savages like the Indians of North America. They have not been so at any period of their history which is known to the moderns; the ancient Peruvians especially had attained a high degree of civilization before the arrival of their conquerors. They undoubtedly possessed a literature; their Incas numbered among them many authors, poets, and scientific men, as well as historians; and they built causeways, aqueducts, and other structures, some of which still remain to attest their skill and taste.*

But their having had a literature, and attained a certain degree of civilization before the arrival of the Spaniards is no sufficient reason why they should succeed in self-government in connection with their conquerors. All who visit them and take pains to make themselves acquainted with their sentiments, tell us that even to the present day they are jealous and suspicious of the Spaniards. And were it

* Journal des Obs. faites en Amerique, vol 1., 188.

otherwise should we not rather wonder? Here then we have explanation enough of the failure of the republics thus far; and it is but fair to admit that the same facts explain to us how it is that the empire of Brazil has succeeded much better, become much more stable, more influential, and more prosperous, than any of the seven republics by whose territories it is bounded on the west. Indeed, it is not too much to say that it is more important than all put together.

There is nothing strange in this—nothing that can be fairly used as an argument against republicanism, since the best friends of the latter wrote, centuries before the empire of Brazil was founded, that, under precisely such circumstances as we have mentioned, a monarchy would be much more likely to succeed than a republic. This was the opinion of Pericles and Phocian; of Demosthenes and Aristotle; that is, they thought that, when the people to be governed are heterogeneous and ignorant, a monarchy suits them much better than a republic; and their views have been adopted by the most eminent jurists and statesmen of modern times, including Grotius, Puffendorf, Vico, Burke, and Guizot.

But had no such opinion been ever given by author or orator, our own experience and observation would have pointed out the fact to us. We had only to glance at the empires of China, Russia, and Austria, and see how many different races live in comparative harmony with each other under a monarchy whose power they must all acknowledge. This, however, would not answer our purpose, except it were agreed that the same various races, with their antagonistic prejudices, would be incompetent to govern themselves as a whole. But what thoughtful person who has paid any attention to history doubts the fact? Who is so credulous as to believe, for example, that the Hungarians, the Croats, the Slavonians, and the Germans, not to mention several minor races, could agree for one year on any system of self-government? The Hungarians would scarcely be satisfied with any law that was proposed by the Croats; the Poles, on the other hand, would oppose any law which emanated from the Hungarians. And was it not precisely on account of those antagonistic prejudices that we had ourselves to pass through the ordeal of the present rebellion, although in our case the combatants on both sides belonged to the same race? Now, when a people of a common origin and of common traditions find it thus difficult to accept the same laws, or to make laws in concert which will be satisfactory to all, how could it be

expected that races so radically different as the Spaniards and ancient Peruvians, Chilians, &c., would be more harmonious or more accommodating to each other.

Whatever may be the faults of Louis Napoleon, he is a shrewd and sagacious man—one who calmly and carefully reflects before he acts. There are many passages in his life of Napoleon which show that he is well aware of the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the two forms of government, according to the circumstances under which they are introduced, or according to the character of the people whom they are intended to govern. Besides the antagonism of races and want of general intelligence to which we have alluded as obstacles to republicanism, he took into account the fact that the greater part of Mexico was a monarchy before the arrival of the Spaniards. It is true that it was surrounded by republics, and that several of these republics were in a flourishing condition. But it would no more follow from this that the monarchy was in danger than it would now follow that the Brazilian Empire, which is bounded everywhere on the land side, all along its immense frontier, by the territories of republics, is in danger. Experience has shown that it is in less danger than any of the republics.

Let us not, however, draw a conclusion from all this which is unfavorable to republicanism, for the facts will not justify us in doing so. If we only consult those who have carefully and dispassionately investigated the subject, we should find that, wherever there was a kingdom or a monarchy in South America, the people consisted of different races which had very little in common with each other. In Mexico, there were the Tultèques and the Aztecs, besides two or three other types less strongly marked. The Peruvians were equally mixed. In general, the Incas are regarded as merely the imperial, or ruling family, the same as the Bourbons, the Guelphs, the Napoleon family, or the House of Hapsburg. But this is an error; it is much more correct to compare them to the Danes, or Normans, while either was the ruling race in England. The Incas, like the Normans, or the Danes, spoke a language entirely different from that of the people whom they had reduced to subjection.*

* Si comme nous l'avons dit tout à l'heure, nous croyons que c'est un tort de faire du terme d'*Inca*, un pur synonyme de celui de *Quichua*, nous sommes, d'un autre côté, fort disposé à penser que le premier désigne

Now be it observed that, throughout the whole of South America, south of the tenth degree of north latitude, there was no kingdom or monarchy, but Peru; all the other states were republics, in which the people in general had more or less voice in the government. But the instructive and interesting fact is, that wherever there was a republic, there was no mixture of races, no diversity of languages,* no conflicting religious views, no antagonistic prejudices. Nor was this the only distinction observed between the republics and the monarchies. While the latter became an easy prey to the invaders, the former continued to resist for years. This was true, for example of the Chilians. Pizarro could raise a large army in monarchical Peru with which to invade Chili; time after time he sent such an army, with the bravest of the Spaniards to encourage them, but as often did the Chilians drive all back. It was not until Valdivia raised the largest army which any Spaniard commanded in America up to this time that the Chilians could be induced to agree to any terms. But they refused to be conquered even then; the best he could do was to conclude a treaty of peace and alliance with them, which was duly signed in 1545. This enabled him to build several towns, including Santiago and Concepcion; but, thirteen years after (1558), when he was suspected of the design of subjugating the state, his whole army was expelled, and he was put to death himself. In short, the republican Chilians continued to resist the invaders for more than a century; even at the end of this period (1641) they only laid down their arms on condition that they could retain the possession of their lands; the ancient Chilians, or, as they were then called, the Araucans, only undertaking on their part not to allow any foreign enemy to land on their shores. Such was the course of the republicans wherever they had an organized government. Be it remembered that the Lascallians fought with equal bravery and resolution after the monarchists had entirely surrendered; nay, while the latter fought in thousands in the ranks of the common enemy.

quelque chose de plus qu'une famille, et que les Incas, qui, politiquement parlant, n'étaient au quinzième siècle que les memores de la famille régnante, représentaient en même temps, *ethnologiquement parlant*, une race originellement distincte de celle de la population sur laquelle ils exerçaient l'autorité." *De l'Etat du Pérou avant la Conquête.*

* "Toutes parlaient la même langue, et se ressemblaient par la physiologie. Leur teint était d'un brun rousâtre ou cuivré; celle de la partie la plus méridionale, près du Cau en, était absolument blanche. Les Chilians étaient principalement agriculteurs; ils cultivaient le maïs et diverses espèces de légumes, la pomme de terre, des courges, le piment, la grande fraise et d'autres plantes indigènes."—*Ibid.*

It is necessary to bear in mind that in the French and Italian as well as the Spanish accounts of the conquest of South America whatever is creditable to the republicans is kept in the background as much as possible.* Nor are the early English writers altogether free from the same charge. Hence it is that we hear so little of the superior intelligence either of the Lascallians, or any other republicans. It cannot be denied that they fought like patriots, like men united by the strongest ties; not only by the ties of a common country, but also by those of a common faith and a common origin. Even in the monarchies the people enjoyed a certain degree of independence, and the intelligent enterprising spirit which generally accompanies it, in proportion as they belonged to the superior race. These characteristics were not so strongly marked either in Mexico or Peru, as they were in Guatemala; but there is sufficient reason for the difference. In Guatemala there was much less mixture of inferior races than in either of the other two monarchies, although more than in any of the principal republics. Accordingly we find that it differed but little from a republic; it certainly differed quite as little as to the amount of liberty possessed by the people, or to the extent of power given to them, as Sparta did from Greece. The difference was sufficient, however, to enable monarchical writers to do justice to the intelligence of the ancient Guatemalans, who, for example, are thus spoken of by Mr. Helps:

"The laws of Guatemala," he says, "appear to have been framed with considerable care. Though the government of the Guatemalans was a monarchy, they had a recognised power, if the king behaved very tyrannically, of calling together the principal men and judges of the kingdom and deposing him. Their laws with regard to theft were curious, and, in some respects, commendable. They made much distinction between great and small thefts; and they graduated their punishments with care, beginning from a pecuniary fine, and continuing, if the culprit showed himself to be a resolute offender, by hanging. Before, however, taking

* There are, however, some honorable exceptions: In speaking of the progress made by the Chilians in the arts and sciences, the Abbé de Molina makes some interesting remarks, from which we translate the following: "They had table utensils, principally earthen, sometimes made of hard wood, and even of marble; they varnished the earthenware with *colo*, a sort of mineral substance; some of their marble vessels were finely polished. They constructed houses of wood and plastered the walls with clay; they had some even of brick, and covered them with reeds. They lived in villages, each of which was governed by an *alcalde*, a hereditary chief, whose authority was limited: this name signifies rich man. They dug canals and built aqueducts: one may still see several of these works, one, especially, near the capital of the country; it is several miles long, and is remarkably substantial."—*Essai sur l'Histoire Civile et Naturelle du Chili*.

the final step, they proceeded to the thief's relations, and asked them whether they would pay all the penalties for him, which, no doubt, in this latter stage, were very considerable. If they would not do so if—according to their expressive phrase—they had had enough of carrying their relative upon their shoulders, and would make no more satisfaction for him, the man was hanged. This may be thought a clumsy mode of proceeding; but any gradations in punishment and any thought for the offender are proofs of nascent civilization. Barbarism is always clear, uncompromising, cruel, and has not the time or the desire to enter into nice distinctions or limitations.”—*Spanish Conquest*.

This is a correct account; but does it not show that the people were much more republican than monarchical? Their kings were quite as much like presidents as the Spartan kings, who had to be elected for limited periods, and who had less power in time of peace than any modern president of a republic, not excepting our own. The same writer who gives this estimate of the ancient Guatemalans and their civilization speaks of the Peruvians also in a manner entirely in accordance with our views, though evidently without any intention of favoring republicanism. He tells us that the people were entirely at the mercy of the Inca, who, calling himself the representative of the Sun, claimed implicit obedience in all things. Even their private property was at his disposal. He divided the land yearly as he thought proper; those who distinguished themselves by their loyalty got more than those who merely kept themselves quiet, or found no fault with his government; while those who gave any evidence of disloyalty got no land, but were either expelled from the country or put to death. In short, the government of the Incas presented an entire contrast to that of any of the republics, and to that of the nominal monarchy of Guatemala. “The whole country,” says Mr. Helps, “under their dominion was ruled with the strictness of a Roman army. There were decurions (the word reminds us of a very similar system in Latium), each of whom ruled over ten men; ten of these decurions and their men were under a centurion; ten centurions and their men obeyed another official chief; and ten of these chiefs, with those under their command, formed a department under the sway of one ruler. In the several handicrafts the son succeeded the father.”*

The Peruvians, especially, were too cruelly treated by the Spaniards ever to have any love for them. The Chilians were not treated so badly, because, as we have seen, they would not submit to it; the Spaniards were always afraid of

* Spanish Conquest.

them, and are so even at the present day. In either case there could be none of that harmony or sympathy between the inhabitants in general without which a republic could not exist. We must bear in mind that, even after the Peruvians submitted, they were mowed down with grape-shot in the streets of their ancient capital, for no better reason than that they might turn on their conquerors and expel them, if they were not thinned down in this way and inspired with wholesome terror. No people ever forgot such as this. When the Peruvians made no further resistance, they saw that their conquerors turned their bloody arms on each other. No sooner does Pizarro think he has completed the work of subjugation than he causes Almagro, who shared all his dangers with him from the beginning, to be imprisoned and put to death. Not long after (1541) he was assassinated himself, and the son of Almagro was proclaimed governor-general. The latter did not enjoy his power more than a few months, when he was opposed by Vaco de Castro; a battle was fought, and Almagro was killed. What could the Peruvians think of a people who treated each other in this shameful manner?

But their own condition grew worse and worse. The account which Las Casas gives of their sufferings at this time makes one's blood run cold; and be it remembered that he was an eye-witness to many of the atrocities which he describes, and that he went to Spain on purpose to implore Charles V. to afford some protection for the unfortunate people; and we are glad to add that he did not do so in vain. When he described to the emperor how the unfortunate natives were treated, boldly telling him that the only object of the Spaniards was to enrich themselves, and that, in order to do this as rapidly as possible, they pillaged the Peruvians, deprived them of their lands, reduced them to slavery, and made them work like cattle under the lash, the emperor pledged himself to put an end to this and to punish the oppressors; and as far as possible he seems to have kept his word. He established a sort of local court called the *mita*; appointed a vic-roy for Peru, and a court of appeal at Lima. The Spaniards, not wishing to abandon their prey so easily, rebelled against the governor, under the leadership of Gonzales Pizarro, but the attempt did not succeed. Pizarro was taken prisoner, tried as a traitor, and beheaded; and many of his adherents were also executed. For a time the natives experienced some relief; but only to be attacked

again, with, if possible, greater fury than ever. The *mita*, which was undoubtedly designed to ameliorate their condition, only proved a new source of oppression. A remark or two will explain this. First, the natives were habitually plundered, as we have seen, under pretence of taxing them. The object of the *mita* was to put an end to this by allowing the natives to do some work in the mines as an equivalent. But very soon it proved much worse than even the oppression for which it was substituted. Large conscriptions were made annually; every native had to work for periods ranging from ten to fifteen years in the mines. At least one-fifth of the thousands thus occupied perished annually from misery and overwork. It is estimated by the most unprejudiced and reliable historians that not fewer than eight millions of men perished in this way. Would it not be something miraculous if a people put to death at this rate still remained numerous? and would it not be a greater wonder, if possible, if they had any sympathy for the race that treated them so cruelly?

We will, however, note one other means by which the Peruvians were plundered. Even after the establishment of what the Spanish historians call a regular government, the governors of districts had the right to sell the natives all the necessaries of life at such prices as they chose to ask for them. The unfortunate people were left no choice of their own; whatever they were offered they were forced to take at the price laid on it, without any reference to its utility or uselessness. If they were refused, they had to spend double time in the mines or be subjected to the lash. This tried their patience more severely than even the horrible exterminating conscription; being unable to endure the so-called *repartimiento* any longer, they rose in rebellion against their oppressors in 1780, and slaughtered them in thousands without mercy. In the city of Sorata alone—after they had captured it from the Spaniards—they hanged, or otherwise strangled twenty thousand persons.

Still we should not hold the Spanish nation responsible for the horrible cruelties that brought on such a retribution as this; we should bear in mind that those who perpetrated them were, in general, persons who had to leave their country for their country's good. The colonial government as well as the home government generally did its best to repress the ruthless rapacity of the class alluded to. When the complaints referred to above were

made by Las Casas and others, a junta was formed by command of the emperor, which consisted partly of counsellors and partly of ecclesiastics. This body drew up certain regulations which are known in history as "The Laws of Burgos." That these would have relieved the wretched sufferers if carried out, will be readily admitted from the spirit of a clause which declared that "the Indians were free men; that they ought to be instructed in the Christian faith; that they might be ordered to work, but so that their working should not hinder their conversion, and should be such as they could endure; that they should have cottages and lands of their own, and time to work for themselves; that they should be made to hold communication with the Christians; and that they should receive wages, not paid in money, but in clothes and furniture for their cottages."*

Even the enemies of the Spanish nation—those who were best acquainted with the atrocities perpetrated on the Peruvians—have done them the justice to admit that, after all, their virtues were greater than their crimes. This was the opinion, for example, of Sir Walter Raleigh, who bears the following testimony:

"Here I cannot forbear to commend the patient virtue of the Spaniards; we seldom or never find that any nation has endured so many misadventures and miseries as the Spaniards have done in their Indian discoveries; yet, persisting in their enterprises with an invincible constancy, they have annexed to their kingdom so many goodly provinces as bury the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempest and shipwrecks, famine, overthrows, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases, both old and new, together with extreme poverty and want of all things needful, have been the enemies wherewith every one of their most noble discoverers, at one time or other, hath encountered. Surely they are worthily rewarded with these treasures and paradises which they enjoy; and well they deserve to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like virtue in others, which, perhaps, will not be found."—*Raleigh's History of the World.*

It is certain that the Spaniards did much mischief while meaning to do good. Their zeal for Christianity was not content with merely converting the Pagans; they wished to destroy everything, however valuable in itself, which was likely to remind the converts of the religion of their ancestors. Under this mistaken notion they not only destroyed books and manuscripts without number—in short, all they could lay their hands upon—but they made a similar havoc of paintings and sculptures, and even of buildings which should be regarded as fine specimens of architecture. That all this

* Laws of Burgos.

was done only by the ignorant, superstitious soldiery ; that the Church, instead of advising any such course, did its best to prevent it, was no satisfaction to the natives ; nor does it lessen the losses which science and art have sustained. It did good, however ; it was creditable to religion, and contributed greatly to increase its power. Had the Church pursued a similar course to that of the politicians, the people could never have been converted as they were ; for it was not in twos, threes or even scores, that they became Christians, while they utterly detested the Spaniards, but that in hundreds of thousands. The whole Christian world as well as the Spanish nation may thank the Dominican monks for this ; it was they who forced the worst enemies of Christianity to admit that its influence in the conquest of South America was undoubtedly humane, and that it did much to mitigate the horrors of war.

Before the arrival of the Dominicans from Hispaniola, where they first commenced their mission of peace and goodwill, both the Peruvians and Mexicans regarded Christianity as the most intolerable evil that could be entailed upon them ; and the Spaniards as worse, if possible, than the demons whom they described as the inhabitants of the nether world. The natives were astonished that, while the Dominicans were white men too, and came, like their oppressors, from beyond the great waters, they coveted neither land nor gold, ate nothing richer or more palatable than corn and herbs, and drank nothing stronger than water ; and what seemed stranger than all was the fact that, instead of trying to do evil, they were disposed to do all the good they could. In a short time the Dominicans gained such an ascendancy over the natives that they could induce them to do anything ; but instead of advising them to do whatever their oppressors told them, as they were required to do, they informed them that the "Great Chief in the East" did not wish them to do anything but what was right ; but, on the contrary, that he would punish those who did them wrong. This so much provoked the Spaniards that they sent special messengers to the court of Madrid to complain of the Dominicans ; and they were so successful, too, that the latter had to send some of their number to vindicate their fraternity. Brother Antonio Montesimo appeared at the court as the deputy of the Dominicans, but was refused admission, the king having been persuaded that they had caused great scandal to the church by the seditious doctrines

they preached to the pagan Americans. After waiting in vain several days for an audience, without being able to prevail on any of the porters to admit him, he finally rushed in when he happened to find the door open. His straightforward simple statement soon convinced the king, who promised that, far from being expelled as was threatened, the Dominicans should be protected in their good work.

It was about this time (1535) that Las Casas, who also belonged to the obnoxious order, wrote his celebrated "*De Unico Vocationis Modo*." It was written in the Latin language, and not printed; but it was soon translated into Spanish, and distributed in manuscript among all who, from their position, had any direct interest in the treatment which it was proper to give the conquered people. Among the precepts which it inculcated were: first, that men were to be persuaded, not forced, to become Christians; and, secondly, that Christians had no right to make war on infidels merely because they were infidels. When one of the governors sneeringly told Las Casas to put his propositions to the test, his memorable reply was: "With God's help I will not only try, but succeed."

This proved no idle boast, as we shall see from an episode which we condense from one of the works before us. There was a province on the northern frontier of Guatemala called Tuzulutlan, which among the Spaniards was known by the name of *Tierra de Guerra*—the Land of War—because the people fought so much like demons that they found it impossible to subdue them. Las Casas was told that these people were not only reckless and blood-thirsty, ready to assail all white men who attempted to approach their habitations, but that "the ways were obstructed by mountains, intersected by rivers, or lost amid dense forests." But nothing daunted by all this, Las Casas undertook to penetrate the forbidden territory, and to change its name into *Tierra del Paz*—the Land of Peace.

He entered into a formal compact with the governor of Guatemala, the only provisions of which were that he and his Dominicans would convert and civilize the refractory district, and that the governor would stand aloof and allow no force to be used. On account of the very bad impression which the natives had received of Christianity from the conduct of the Spaniards, all of whom, from Cortez and Pizarro down to the commonest soldier, were in favor of their conversion, the Dominicans were obliged to have recourse to what

are called pious frauds. They saw that, if they marched openly under the banner of the Cross, they would meet with the fate of many others who had gone on the same errand, without being able to do any good. Their first care, therefore, was to translate into the native dialect some of the cardinal doctrines of the Church. In order to render it as attractive as possible, the translation was made in verse. Their next care was to secure the good will of four native merchants, who resorted several times a year to the Land of War; these were easily induced to commit the verses to memory, and sing them at convenient times within hearing of the cacique and the great lords of Tuzulutlan. They first offered their wares as usual. After having done a pretty good business in disposing of some Castilian novelties, they sang their verses in the cool of the evening, accompanying them by timbrels and drums. It did not take them long to gather a large audience in this way; many were attracted by the novelty of seeing merchants so suddenly turn minstrels; but their wonder was not a little increased by the burden of their song; "for," to use the words of the historian, "the good fathers had not hesitated to put into their verses the questionable assertion that idols were demons, and the certain fact that human sacrifices were abominable."

First the people hesitated; they seemed not to know whether they ought to hiss or do something worse, or applaud; but the merchants did their work so well that it was not long until they decided on the latter. The cacique was one of those who reflect before coming to any important conclusion; so he thought he would hear more. He asked the merchants would they expound to him some of their strange doctrines; but they adroitly declined the attempt with the reply that they merely sang what they heard; they added, however, that there were certain *padres* who could explain what the verses meant. "And who are these *padres*?" asked the chief. In reply the merchants painted pictures of the Dominicans in their robes of black and white with their tonsured heads. They then proceeded to describe the lives and habits of the monks; how they abstained from meat, and did not care for gold or silver, or feathers or cocoa; how they neither married nor associated with women; and how their chief work, day and night, was to sing praises to God. The cacique resolved to hear the strange beings who differed so much from the wicked men settled in Mexico and Guatemala, whose only care seemed to

be to murder and plunder the weak and defenceless. The merchants told him they felt sure the *padres* were quite willing to come, for they were as fond of teaching as they were of praying and singing. The Dominicans had now all the opportunity they wanted, and they were not slow in availing themselves of it. Two or three months after, Father Luis Cacer visited the cacique as the ambassador of the monks, and was most kindly received. The chief was in no hurry, however; he took some weeks to enquire into the nature of the new doctrines. The result was that he became a proselyte, and soon after a zealous preacher of the new doctrine. One historian tells us that "he was the first to pull down and burn his idols; and many of the chiefs, in imitation of their master, likewise became iconoclasts."*

The following year Las Casas took the place of Cacer, and although he had a good deal of opposition to contend against in the remote parts of the province, he fully executed his part of the compact, and Tuzulutlan became literally a "Land of Peace." Although this is but little of what Las Casas did to improve the condition of the natives, it is sufficient to show that he eminently deserved the title of Protector of the Indians, bestowed upon him by the king. We need only add that the cacique was a functionary who corresponded precisely with a modern president; he was elected for five years, and liable to be removed from office for certain specified acts. Thus we see that the republicans were not only the bravest and most patriotic of the ancient inhabitants, but that they were also the most easily accessible to reason, and the quickest to distinguish good from evil.

Having thus vindicated the republicanism of the ancient South Americans, and shown that it is not the principle that is defective in the modern republics, but that the circumstances in which they are placed are unfavorable, there is no reason why we should not consider the claims of monarchy with equal candor. In other words, if we prefer republicanism to monarchy, that gives us no right to misrepresent the latter, or deny that it is suited for any state of society. Those who write in this spirit cannot pretend to have much regard for truth, or, indeed, for common-sense, since there are scarcely any so ignorant as not to be aware that some of the greatest nations of both the ancient and modern world have attained their greatness under monarchies. This is no

* Mier's Travels in Chili and La Plata, vol. i., p. 102.

more a reflection on republicanism than it would be a reflection on Paris or Vienna to say that London is a great and flourishing city. We should bear in mind, then, that, if asked what other American government makes the nearest approach to the United States in stability, prosperity, and influence, at home and abroad, truth requires that we should assign that distinction to the empire of Brazil. We could not assign it to Mexico if she were again a republic to-morrow; nor could we have done so at any time within the last twenty years.

But it was very different when the country was first conquered. Then it had no superior in America. Among the various evidences of the comforts that civilization alone can secure, which surprised the Spaniards on entering Mexico, were its well-ordered market-place and the varied abundance with which it was supplied. These most disposed to depreciate everything that was creditable to the inhabitants could not deny that the Mexican market compared favorably even with that of the Spanish capital. But if they did not deny this, they tried to rob the pagan Mexicans of the credit of it by representing that among the varieties exhibited to tempt their appetite were the bodies of men, women, and children. It is in vain that Las Casas and other lovers of truth and justice have denounced the statement as an unfounded calumny, for it is repeated to this day in all parts of the world. The latest work on the subject that we have seen is that of Mr. Helps, who evidently has no doubt that the ancient Mexicans were cannibals, although the facts which he states himself in the same page would entirely acquit them of the charge:

"In this vast area," speaking of the extent of the market, he says, "each kind of merchandise had its own quarter, and it would be difficult to specify any kind which was not to be seen there. To begin with the noblest and the most shameful merchandise, namely, that of human beings, there were as many to be found as the negroes whom the Portuguese bring from Guinea. Then every kind of eatable, every form of dress, medicines, perfumes, unguents, furniture, fruit, wrought gold and silver, lead, tin, brass, and copper adorned the porticoes and allured the passer-by. Paper, that great material of civilization, was to be obtained in this wonderful emporium; also every kind of earthenware, salt, wood, tobacco, razors made of obsidian, dressed and undressed skins, cotton of all colors in skeins, painters' colors, building materials, and manure; wine, honey, wax, charcoal, and little dogs. Convenience was well considered; porters were to be hired, and refreshments to be obtained. One curious thing which Cortez noticed was 'that every commodity was sold by number or by measure, and not by weight.' With regard to the regulations under which this vast bazaar was held, it

may be noticed that the Mexicans had arrived at that point of civilization where fraud is frequent in the sale of goods; but, superior even to ourselves in this day, they had a counterpoise in a body of officers called judges, who sat in a court-house on the spot, and before whom all causes and matters relating to the market were tried. There were also officers who went continually about the market-place, watching what was sold and the measures which were used. When they found a false one, they broke it. This market was so much frequented that the busy hum of all the buying and selling might be heard for a league off."—*Helps' Spanish Conquest in America*, vol. i, pp. 127, 128.)

All this is in strict accordance with the principles we have laid down as to what renders one form of government more suitable than another. There were still more antagonistic races in Brazil when the present empire was established than in either Mexico or Peru; the former were also much more ignorant than the latter. Now we regret to say that the reverse is the case; the Brazilians are undoubtedly more intelligent than the masses of any of the republics, not excepting Chili, which has made considerable progress in this respect within the last ten years.

Now let us glance at the different states of South America, as they appear on the map, and see what relation they bear to each other in population and extent. That which first attracts our attention is Brazil, with its immense river, the Amazon, which is nearly as large as all Europe, embracing an area of 3,044,160 square miles, and containing a population, according to the census of 1858, of nearly eight millions, exclusive of slaves and savage tribes. Not only are excellent schools established in all the large towns, but also throughout the country, wherever there are pupils to attend them; while there are academies and colleges in the larger cities, which would bear comparison with the best similar institutions in the United States.

Turning to the states of New Granada, Venezuela, and Ecuador, we find that the three comprise an area of over a million of square miles, and contain a population of about 400,282,343. But very little more that is encouraging can be said of these states, admirably situated as they are, being bounded on the north by the Caribbean sea, and on the west by the Pacific, and watered by several noble rivers, including the Orinoco and the Magdalena. The Argentine Republic comes next in point of extent and importance. This too has undergone different changes, calling itself by different names according to the alliances formed by its component states; but at no time has its career been very brilliant. It embraces an area of nearly 800,000 square miles, but its population

scarcely exceeds a million and a half. Bolivia is less than half the extent of the Argentine Republic, but has as large if not a larger population. Having already spoken of Peru and Chili, we need not include them in this brief analysis ; but though we also add the republics of Central America, we shall seek in vain for those evidences of intelligence, enterprise, and progress which would inspire us with much hope in the future of South American republicanism.

With these indisputable facts before our eyes, while Brazil so far surpasses the whole tribe of republics, how absurd it is to deny that monarchy has certain advantages in such circumstances as we have alluded to—that is, in countries the populations of which are composed of different races that are strongly antagonistic to each other, and in which education, if there be any, is confined to the dominant race ; it is still more absurd, if possible, to maintain that we should not permit any monarchy to be established in this country lest its influence might prove injurious to republicanism. If our advice were asked, we might indeed recommend republicanism as superior to monarchy, but force we have a right to apply only within our own territories.

If the Peruvians or the Chilians wished to change their government into an empire to-morrow, that would be their affair, not ours. For us to attempt to prevent them would be nothing more rational than if a farmer would try to prevent his neighbor from building on his own farm the sort of house which he thought most suitable for his family, merely because the plan of it was different from that of the model house already built.

It is no proper reason to say that the objection is made only for the purpose of guarding against the exercise of European influence on this continent. If this was ever practicable, it would now be too late to prevent it. We should remember that European monarchy exercised power and influence here before our republic came into existence. If Brazil is now an independent American empire, having no more connection with any European power than we have ourselves, it commenced its existence as an off-shoot of the kingdom of Portugal, which was taken possession of by Napoleon. If it was proper to oppose the establishment of an empire at any time, it was proper then ; but the American statesmen of the day knew better, and they confined themselves to their legitimate duties.

It is true that Spain has no longer any territory on the American continent ; but in the West Indies she has Cuba,

Porto Rico, the Isle of Pines, and two of the Virgin Isles, which embrace an area of nearly forty-eight thousand square miles ; France has Guadaloupe, Desirado, Martinique, &c., which comprise one thousand six hundred and ninety-one square miles ; even Denmark and Sweden, as well as the Netherlands, have thus each a foot-hold in the immediate vicinity of the American continent. The American territory of England is nearly, if not quite, as extensive as our own ; even the czar has his Russian America. Thus seven European powers have territories in America, three of which are powers of the first class ; yet some of our politicians, who wish to be regarded as statesmen, affect to be very much disgusted because our government will not get up a quarrel with France or Austria, or both, in order to prevent the growth of European influence, and to encourage a sort of republicanism which has not the spirit to raise a hand in its own defence when one of its principal cities is attacked, after weeks and months of warning, by three or four European steamers.

The truth is, in a word, that the South American republics are republics only in name. They are military despotisms without a military prestige. Their presidents have themselves declared dictators ; if they do not then become tyrants as unscrupulous and bloody as most of those who have worn crowns, they are very much misrepresented. Juan Manuel Rosas, of the Argentine Republic, may, we think, be taken as a pretty fair specimen of South American presidents ; if he has not done better than others, he can hardly be said to have done worse upon the whole. He was dictator of Buenos Ayres from 1835 to 1852. During all the time that he ruled there was no meeting of the national congress or the constituent assembly. Whether right or wrong, his countrymen say that he murdered not only large numbers of his opponents, but also of the friends who had placed him in power. Be this as it may, his dictatorial powers were not sufficient to maintain peace among the people whose dictator he was, so that France and England had to interfere, in turn, in order to prevent the war raging for years from degenerating into one of mutual extermination. As for the nature of the troubles which have caused these almost constant wars between the different republics, which sometimes enter into confederations with each other, and then, again, attack each other,* even their secretaries-of-war do not seem to have a very clear conception of it

* Nay, at this moment, the Argentine and Oriental republics are in hostile league with the Emperor of Brazil against the republic of Paraguay.

on all occasions. Nor is the record of Peru much brighter or much more creditable to republicanism than that of the Argentine Republic.

In theory the president of Peru is elected by a majority of the people, but in reality he is elected by his money and by his influence with the army—chiefly by the latter. The term which he is supposed to serve is six years; but he may secure his election again and again, and if defeated he may take the field, or his opponent may do so if he succeeds, and in either case there is pretty sure to be more or less bloodshed. For the reasons already mentioned, Chili is not so revolutionary as its sister republics; but it is by no means free from the common failing. Among its most formidable attempts at revolution were those of April and September, 1851. The first was instigated by Colonel Uriola, who had been refused the office of secretary-of-war; and there was every reason to believe that he would have succeeded had he not been killed in a severe battle fought at Santiago between the insurgent forces and those of the government. The September revolt was of a more serious nature; its instigator and leader was General Cruz, the defeated candidate for the presidency. For nearly two months the insurgents were victorious in every battle. Finally, however, the government succeeded, although not by its cannon or musketry, but by its money. The funds of the insurgent leaders ran out, and they agreed to lay down their arms on condition that their personal finances should be improved and a general amnesty granted. There are not many statesmen or jurists who would recommend the acceptance of propositions like these at the hands of insurgent rebels; but the government of Chili had no such nice scruples, and accordingly the money and the amnesty were granted, and the war ceased.

Now, if, in addition to these facts, we bear in mind the condition of republican Mexico for the last twenty years—how it had to guard against attempts at revolution almost every year, and was almost always in a state bordering on anarchy; and how we ourselves, with all our love for republicanism found it incumbent on us to invade its territories and capture several of its principal cities, including its capital—must it not seem rather absurd to ourselves, as well as to the rest of mankind, that we should make the change of government in any of those republics, but especially in Mexico, a *casus belli* with any nation? No statesman worthy of the name, who has any knowledge of the history of the South American

republics, would seriously entertain such a proposition on pain of being laughed at as a modern Don Quixote. Louis Napoleon understood this very well; fortunately, it is equally well understood by President Johnson. There is, therefore, no danger of a war on our part with France or any other nation in defence of Mexican republicanism, the Monroe doctrine, or any other doctrine that is half as absurd.

ART. VII.—1. *Dissertatio de Ingenio Sophocles*. (Dissertation on the Genius of Sophocles.) ERLANGEN. 1861.

2. *Opera Omnia, Sophocles*. (The Works of Sophocles.) Paris, 1865.

3. *Leben des Sophocles*. (Life of Sophocles.) VON GOTT. EPH. LESSING. Berlin.

4. *The Antigone, with English Notes*. By T. D. WOOLSEY.

IN order properly to appreciate the rank held by the plays of Sophocles, at their proper value, among the tragedies of ancient Greece, we must glance at the origin and gradual development of the Greek drama. Three epochs may be distinguished in the dramatic life of Greece, each well marked and each offering, respectively, phases of existence containing the germs of incipieney, maturity, and decay.

While admiring the exquisite art of Sophocles, the beautiful pictures of ideal life which he has sketched, the magnificent characters, instinct with life and nature, which he has handed down, we could scarcely believe that he is but the exponent of an art cradled amid the orgies of a Bacchic festival. Yet, such is the case; and though Homer had written drama within drama, in the Iliad song, had not the occasion of a dramatic actuation occurred in the Dionysiac festivals, we might now be without an Æschylus, a Sophocles, or a Euripides. The festivals of Bacchus offering the widest field for the display of coarse wit, jest, and personal raillery, those who had private piques to gratify, or resentments to indulge, availed themselves of those occasions; and stimulated by the double motive of promoting their private aims, and of currying favor with the populace, they combined intense sarcasm with broad farce, and even scurrility. Painted with vermilion, belauded with the lees of wine, and clad in goat-skins, those nurses of an infant art

danced, attitudinized, and roared out their coarse jests and broad jokes to the delight of a rude and boisterous audience. But the genius of the Greek mind wrought out of such chaos the fairest structure that the æsthetic eye can contemplate, and from licentious buffoonery produced an art higher in the scale of beauty than painting or sculpture.

Although the most commonly received opinion thus refers the origin of Greek tragedy to the festivals of Bacchus, in opposition to that of a few who pretend to find the incipient traces of the drama in the effusions of the old rhapsodists, yet it is not easy to describe the precise steps by which, leaving its larval condition, it received its full chrysalic development. It is certain that no actor appeared at the feasts of Bacchus, and that the proceedings consisted of coarse dithyrambs, uttered in praise of the god, and rendered piquant through hope of obtaining the goat (*τράγος*) awarded as a prize to the composer of the best song (*ὠδή*); and the first recorded improvement was the substitution of an interlocutory personage for those wild narratives. The object of this substitution was to afford an opportunity to the chorus of making whatever changes they deemed proper, and preventing the interest of the audience from flagging in the meantime. But so far no advance towards the drama is perceptible; nor was it till Thespis, using the tailboard of his rough wagon or *plaustrum* as a stage, introduced an actor, who personated a particular character, that the drama sprang into existence. Here the first step was half the journey, and the subsequent improvements were as rapid as they were numerous. Now that the principal attention became fixed on the actor the chorus sank into secondary significance, and served but to assist the *dramatis personæ* in the evolution of the play. We next hear of Phrynicus, who substituted, for the dithyrambs, verses of a more flowing cadence, and consequently more suitable to tragedy.

But viewing the Greek drama in its positive aspects there can be no doubt that Æschylus is entitled to the appellation of its Father, for not to the rough hewer of stone is the guerdon due, but to him who has chiselled it into life and beauty. Æschylus not only lifted tragedy from its degraded state, but reformed the stage by erecting theatres and introducing theatrical costumes and machinery. Following the popular supposition concerning the lofty stature of heroes and demigods, he elevated his actors by buskins, and prescribed masks to conceal the irregularity or deformity

of their features. We shall afterwards see what a fatal mistake he committed in the introduction of the two last. Hitherto the praises of Bacchus had been the theme of tragic song, and long established custom forbade the intrusion of new subjects; nor was it till the strong objection made by the populace against the first attempts at innovation led to the establishment of separate exercises where Momus held undisputed sway, that tragedy began to soar unimpeded. After this, comedy and tragedy became distinct, and each proceeded in well-marked channels to its proper destination. At first the people missed the *pabulum* of excitement so abundantly supplied in the dithyrambic odes of the Bacchants, but an improved public taste soon sanctioned the change, and the representation of Æschylus' pieces drew constantly increasing crowds. Æschylus had been a close student and an ardent admirer of Homer, and no doubt it was the life-like reality of the personages in the *Iliad* which inspired him with the thought of bringing before the gaze of the bodily eye pictures which the mental vision so much delighted to contemplate. As most of his characters, therefore, are borrowed from Homer, he cannot be allowed the claim of originality, except in a few instances, where his bold genius has invented situations of startling power, or put into the mouths of his characters utterances of the highest sublimity.

Tragedy having taken its origin, as we mentioned, in the obscure feasts of Bacchus, some of the lowliness of its birth clung to it even in its maturity, and we find that no feature of its parentage so dimmed its lustre, so fettered its upward flight, as the law of the two "unities." The events related at the Bacchanalian feasts being supposed to transpire at the same time and place, it became an established canon in the dramatic art that the action of the play should be restricted in both those respects. Æschylus, as being the first to compose regular tragedies, was the first to feel the enthralling effect of this law, and though his genius constantly strove to burst the trammels thus imposed upon it, he nevertheless strictly abided by this Procrustean regulation. His action, therefore, is simple and without incident, and his characters are rather the impersonations of abstract qualities than flesh-and-blood personages. What his feelings lacked in interesting variety and abundance of incident he sought to supply by what was calculated to stir up deep emotion; in his tragedies he has, therefore, appealed with astonishing power to

the sentiments of fear and pity, and has created pictures whose grandeur inspired Aristotle with awe. But even the perfections of Æschylus attest the incipieney of the art, for his poetic excellence is of an epic rather than a dramatic character, and even those scenes in the *Prometheus* which challenge our admiration by their sublimity owed much of their power to the restricted appliances of the stage. Thus, while *Prometheus* is being chained to the rock by *Vulcan* and his associates, the hero utters not a word; he replies neither to the taunts of power nor to the pity of *Vulcan*, but maintains a silence which greatly heightens the effect of the scene; nor is it till his persecutors have withdrawn that he breaks forth into violent transports, and calls on the elements to witness his sufferings. This is highly artistic, but, as regards the playwright, unconsciously so, for, Æschylus never permitting more than two actors to speak, *Prometheus* preserved a mere stage silence. Though Gruppe and Bode offer a different reason for the silence of *Prometheus*, Geppert* and most commentators after him concur in the explanation given.

While the theatre rang with acclamations of applause during the representation of Æschylus' *Prometheus*, one among the audience listened in silence, for his polished taste had been shocked by the wild irregularities of this sublime creation, and his lofty but well-disciplined genius assured him that while he might emulate the greatness he might at the same time avoid the imperfections of the "Father of Tragedy."

Sophocles, therefore, determined to enter the lists with Æschylus, and, since it is our more direct aim to discuss the character of this poet as a dramatic writer, we will examine what qualities of mind and person he brought to the proposed task. Liberally endowed by nature with those qualities which constitute physical beauty, he was to the eye the beau ideal of a Greek. On his brow genius and grace sat enthroned, and seemed to woo the laurel leaf with which it was eighteen times crowned. His figure was lithe and elastic, well proportioned and full of symmetry, qualities which he developed to the utmost by a judicious system of physical education. He loved the graceful in everything, and it was this innate good taste which led him to the study of gracefulness, even in his movements, and rendered him passionately fond of music. Often, no doubt while with lyre

* Geppert *Al' griechische Bühne*, p. 58.

in hand he woke sweet echoes in the solitude of some sacred grove, did he catch inspirations of those beautiful choral odes which have made the rude Doric dialect of the South the vehicle of the most exquisite melody. During his youth he had cultivated lyric poetry with ardor and success ; but the genius of the Greek, delighting in what pleased the eye and charmed the ear at the same time, led him to abandon this species of composition for the drama. With an ear attuned to the most delicate cadences in verse, a taste chastened by the exquisite models of eloquence, poetry, and sculpture which the age of Pericles produced, and a judgment ripened by close study and the observation of the springs of human action, he girded himself for the contest, and in his twenty-fifth year he wrested the prize from the veteran Æschylus, who went into exile humiliated by defeat.

This triumph left him undisputed master of the whole field of drama ; nor did any author arise to supplant him in the love of those whose hearts he had won by the touching humanity of his plays. During eighty years he led a charmed life, respected by his fellow-citizens and favored by the gods, sheltered from the stinging shafts of calumny, unscathed by the sarcasm of Aristophanes, and even drawing from the single alloy to his happiness, caused by the undutifulness of his children, a purer gold in the verdict of his judges, which shed new radiance on his name, and brought dishonor to his persecutors. How gratifying to the old man must have been the applause elicited by this beautiful description of Colonus, an applause coupled with a withering rebuke to those sons who accused him of dotage :

“ Wherever and aye through the greenest vale
Gush the wailing notes of the nightingale,
From her home where the dark-hued ivy weaves
With the grove of the god a night of leaves,
And the vines blossom out from the lonely glade,
And the suns of the summer are dim in the shade,
And the storms of the winter have never a breeze
That can shiver a leaf from the charmed trees.
For there, oh, ever there,
With that fair mountain throng
Who his sweet nurses were,
Wild Bacchus holds his court the conscious woods among,
Daintily, ever there,
Crown of the mighty goddesses of old,
Clustering Narcissus, with his glorious hues,
Springs from his bath of heaven's delicious dews,
And the gay crocus sheds his rays of gold,
And wandering there forever
The fountains are at play,

And Cephissus feeds his river :
 From their sweet urns day by day
 The river knows no dearth :
 Adown the vale the lapsing waters glide,
 And the pure rain of that pellucid tide
 Calls the ripe beauty from the heart of earth."

To understand the hidden principle of the Sophoclean tragedies, that which rendered them characteristic of the age and of the poet, we must enquire what peculiarities of Greek education stamped them with their proper notes, or *tesserae*. If we read one of the trilogies, either *Œdipus Tyrannus*, *Œdipus at Colonus*, or *Antigone*, we shall be struck by the character of necessity which pervades it. Wretched *Œdipus* is the toy of circumstances, the very slave of necessity; though informed by the oracle that he will be the slayer of his father and the incestuous partner of his mother's bed, and though striving from earliest life to guard against this horrible doom, every step he takes brings him nearer to the vortex of destruction. The furies let loose hurry him to his fate, and if at times they seem to delay the catastrophe it is but to render it more frightful. The notion of this bondage Sophocles derived from the doctrine of the ancients, who believed that the gods visited the sins of the parents on their children through many generations, and that, to show their power to men, they contrived to draw from the safeguards wherewith those descendants of guilty forefathers surrounded themselves the very instrument of their ruin. Thus, *Œneus*, King of the *Ætolians*, had neglected to offer sacrifice to *Diana*, who failed not to take vengeance for the omission by inflicting numberless woes on the members of the royal household, and exciting murderous dissensions, which resulted in the death of *Meleager*, son of *Œneus*.*

In like manner, a crime committed by *Tantalus* long caused the descendants of *Pelops* to be persecuted by the furies, and developed its effects in the sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, the murder of *Agamemnon* by *Clytemnestra*, of *Clytemnestra* by *Orestes*, and the persecution of *Orestes* till expiation had been made.†

As strict adherence to this principle had vitiated some of the plays of *Æschylus*, robbing them of the human interest which can attach only to those personages who suffer the consequences of their own misdeeds, and are not the mere innocent victims of necessity, *Sophocles* has departed

* Homer's *Iliad*, lib. ix., v. 529; Pausan., lib. x., cap. 31, p. 874.

† *Soph. in Electr.*, v. 570.

somewhat from the strict rigor of this principle, admitting just so much of free human agency into his plays as would relieve his characters from complete subjection to inexorable necessity, and would refer the misfortunes of a life to one error at least born of free will. But this requirement satisfied, the error granted, the accountability incurred, subsequent events assume all the characters of dread necessity. Thus the very *eclat* of Œdipus' reign, the love he had won from his subjects, the renown which had carried his name to the extremity of Greece are but links in the sad chain which leads to the termination of his wretched career.

Proceeding in this manner, Sophocles has, in his Œdipus Tyrannus, presented one of the finest conceptions of human life. Œdipus, the doomed victim of divine anger, slew his father, Laius, having encountered him in a mountain gorge, accompanied by a few attendants. This was the first step to ruin; and the rashness with which Œdipus attacked and slew a defenceless old man involved just enough criminality to exempt his after treatment from the charge of cruelty and injustice. After this the unhappy man is borne along on the irresistible current of events, which interlock with so much logical accuracy as to leave no escape possible. In vain does he struggle to free himself from the iron grasp of fate. We see him, an apparently free agent, mapping out the future in his thoughts, and yet encountered at every step by the *Δαίμων*, who shapes those plans to his destruction. For awhile he stems the tide, but, like a straw caught in an eddy, he lingers for a moment only to be swept more fiercely onward. How wonderfully conformable is this to the analysis of every-day life. An event of slight importance often changes the destinies of a life, which, like a cannon ball glancing from a surface, never after resume their first direction.

In addition to this element of necessity, which is characteristic of the tragedies of Sophocles, we find another principle still more radical, as being of wider application. This consists in the evolution of some idea which is distinct from the plan or conception of the play, but to which the whole play attaches as an allegory to the truth it illustrates. We find this exemplified in the *Antigone*, the ethical purport of which is to exhibit the conflict between two obligations, one due to a heavenly and the other to an earthly power. *Antigone* violates the mandate of the royal Creon, and by so doing discharges a duty which a sister's love for a departed

brother imposed on her. Ismene, on the other hand, filled with reverence for the decrees of the ruling powers, refuses to join Antigone, and with true feminine weakness says:

"Nature formed us women
Weak and unfit to cope with mightier man."

Nature triumphs in the stronger character of Antigone, but yet the question is undecided whether she had done better by hearkening to the voice of nature or doing the royal bidding. But in this there was something wonderfully suited to the skeptical character of the Athenians, to whom a chronic state of doubt was natural. Long accustomed to the wordy combats of the sophists, they had learned to doubt everything, though they were exquisitely sensible to the beautiful side of truth. For this reason Sophocles abstained from an explicit decision of the question, but by investing the side of truth with all the attractiveness of his pen, he won over the sensitive, impressionable Athenians. For this reason he is praised by some critics, and blamed by others, who maintain that he has made art the exponent rather of Athenian than of universal human nature. In the *Trachiniae*, also, we find the same hesitancy, the same reluctance, to decide in favor of either one of two given principles; but here the interest of the play is heightened, and thus, while Sophocles gratifies the wishes of the Athenians, he offers to our gaze a picture full of life, beauty, and truth. Dejanira tells the chorus of the properties imparted to a garment steeped in the blood of the hydra of Lerna:

"Forever changeless, shall it bind to mine
The soul of Hercules, that ne'er his love
Shall burn to others as it burns to me;"

and though apprehensive that there may be some hidden snare in the fatal gift, she endeavors to stifle the small still voice by such special pleading as this:

"Unhallowed arts I never, never knew,
Nor seek to know them: for I scorn such baseness:
But by these spells could I transcend the charms
Of this young beauty, and revive the love
Of Hercules—the deed were well essayed,
If ye approve my purpose—and if not,
I will forbear the act."

The fatal garment is borne to Hercules, and not till the courier has sped on the way does remorse for some mysterious guilt invade the breast of Dejanira. How true to

nature is this self-chiding after the messenger has departed and recall is impossible!

"I tremble, virgins, lest my late emprise
Hath passed the bounds of wisdom and of right."

Here is exhibited a conflict between conjugal love and jealousy, but the unwillingness of the poet to excuse or condemn Dejanira, which is the general impression made on the reader's mind, is felt to have been the occasion of some delicate strokes of art.

But, to appreciate the genius of Sophocles as measured by his plays, our first duty is to enquire what conditions of time, place, and circumstance curbed the bent of that genius, and how far outside influences may account for the faults which are ascribed by some to defect of poetic fire, and by others to pernicious peculiarities of the time and place in which our poet lived. As we before mentioned, the lowliness of origin which marked the Greek drama adhered to many of its features, and therein we will discover many of those restraints on the free and full development of Sophocles' genius.

In the first place, the theatrical necessities of the time forbade the creation of scenes and situations the dramatic effect of which should depend on stage accessories. Indeed, the limited appliances of Greek theatres may be inferred from their having no roof, and being made portable like the canvas tents of travelling circuses. But it was especially in the establishment of arbitrary rules of art that Sophocles experienced the greatest hindrance to the exercise of his dramatic talent.

The mistaken notion entertained by Æschylus, that an elevated stature imparted dignity and grandeur to his personages operated slightly against the artistic success of Sophocles' plays. With Æschylus, whose imagination overleaped all the guards reason and taste imposed, and who sought rather to overawe us by the sublime than to awaken sympathy with what is human, such a mistake did not stand greatly in the way. But Sophocles, who painted men in human colors, at times somewhat heightened, yet always as men, not demigods, felt the restriction imposed by this anomalous theatrical regulation. The straining after a due proportion between the sentiments and the appearance of the actor created at times a stiffness which a strong desire to bring his character to the standard of humanity does not entirely conceal. Yet in most instances his love for the human triumphs; and

no doubt Sophocles was too much engrossed by the æsthetic side of his subject to pay much regard to stage effect. This regard, however, manifests itself in the opening interview between Theseus and Œdipus, in the tragedy of *Œdipus at Colonus*, but the stiffness vanishes readily, and the interview closes with an interchange of sentiments beautifully human and natural.

Another stage custom, that of wearing masks, proved a more serious impediment to the free exercise of our poet's genius. The unchanging expression of countenance which belongs to a mask calls for a corresponding uniformity in the sentiments expressed by the wearer, and thus is a check put to the kaleidoscopic play of passion we so much admire in Shakspeare, Schiller, and Racine; thus are forbidden those pleasing transitions from the gay to the grave, from the calm to the passionate—transitions so entirely human as to be dependent on the ever-varying causes which excite emotions in us.

But in Sophocles we remark a uniformity in the characters which is more than consistency, and necessarily limits the representation to the exhibition of one phase or aspect of character. Thus, *Antigone* is exhibited in the same frame of mind throughout. She is always moody, discontented, and defiant, scarcely giving utterance to a single sentiment not entirely consistent with the expression of the mask which she is supposed to wear.

And here by means of this principle we may solve a difficulty which has long embarrassed critics and commentators. It has appeared strange to all that a poet possessed of so much keen sensibility, so touchingly alive to the most delicate and tender influences of our nature, failed to give effect to the *Antigone* by the employment of that very powerful dramatic lever, love. *Antigone*, though betrothed to Creon's son, though deeply enamored of him, and though making a full sacrifice of that love through a sense of the duty she owes her brother, never once alludes to it; never in the course of those swan-like dirges, wherein she mourns her early separation from the light and life of the sun, and her untimely consignment to the cold grave, does she mention her love for *Hæmon*; nor does the poet give a scene where that love might assume all the tenderness and pathos belonging to it. No—*Antigone* is the same hard nature throughout; nor utters a sentiment in the least at variance with the stern character in which she first appears.

If we accept this as an explanation of the difficulty

alluded to, the fault is chargeable not to the genius of Sophocles, but to the irrational stage requirements he was compelled to satisfy; and no doubt he most acutely felt the cramping effect on his muse of those canons of an undeveloped art.

As time passed on, and the faults of Thespis', Æschylus', and Phrynicus' dramatic laws stood in bold relief, a practical disregard for them succeeded—a disregard especially noticeable in the tragedies of Euripides. Euripides displays greater versatility of manner in the portraiture of his characters, because he valued dramatic perfection more than the conditions of stage success. Therefore is Medea more human than Antigone, as presenting more phases of character, and a more rapid play of passionate changes. At one time she is the injured wife, burning with desire for revenge, and breathing threats of dire import against her husband, Jason, and the royal house of Creon; at another time, nature resumes sway in her bosom, and she laments the sad events which have driven her to such desperate acts; at one time jealous-minded, she swears to slay her own children because Jason loves them; again womanly feeling prevails, and she relinquishes her bloody resolve, but for a moment only, since at last she carries it into execution. In this there is a variety which is natural; for, since the motives of human actions are constantly changing, those actions should exhibit the same grades and shades of mutation.

But the stringent laws which public opinion had sanctioned debarred Sophocles from this source of dramatic power, and forced him to accomplish his results by intensifying the interest of his limited action. This, as we have already remarked, is especially evident in the Antigone, and is noticeable, also, in the Trachiniæ and Philoctetes, and should be considered as one of the chief causes that warped the genius of Sophocles and gave Euripides a wonderful advantage over him.

In many instances, however, Sophocles studied dramatic rather than scenic effect. Thus *Œdipus Tyrannus* is presented to us in very different colors towards the close of that beautiful tragedy, from those in which we first behold him. Indeed, there is almost the same versatile play of passion which Shakespeare has thrown into *Macbeth*, and we are disposed to grant the full meed of admiration to the power of the poet who has known how to reduce consistently the magnificent king, boastful, self-reliant, the conscious prop

of the state, to the abject, cowering slave of fate, who, to shun the light, plucks his eyes out with his own hands.

As we mentioned in the case of Æschylus, so also with Sophocles did the law of the unities operate perniciously. No doubt, had unlicensed freedom in respect of time and place been allowed to Sophocles, he would have exhibited the same charming variety in his scenes, the same powerful combination of causes resulting from a free choice of time and place, the same abundance of incidents, the same fertility of invention, the same rapid accumulation of interesting events which characterize the productions of Shakespeare.

Sophocles having composed at a time when public opinion had sanctioned the art canons of Æschylus, and when public taste had been so trained as to admit of no departure from the established laws of unity, his adherence to unity of time and place is exceedingly strict. The whole action of his plays is comprised between sunrise and sun-down, and transpires on the spot where the scene opens. We find, however, unity of time violated in one instance in the *Trachiniæ*, where the voyage to Eubœa is performed during the representation, even in the short interval while the chorus are singing an ode; and unity of place is disregarded in the play of *Ajax*, the chorus separating into two parties, who go in quest of the missing hero. With these trifling exceptions, Sophocles adheres rigorously to the unities, and no greater merit has been achieved by him than the successful manner in which he has surmounted the intolerable restraints imposed on the free flights of genius by those laws. Startling situations, strongly contrasted pictures of life, quick succession of interesting events, variety, incident, and passion were sacrificed to the observance of those two galling conditions. Yet Sophocles' intimate knowledge of the human heart, his quick perception of the main-springs of action, wrought out of the scanty events of a day sufficient interest to awaken all the emotions of our nature.

One other circumstance will bring into full light the obstacles which beset Sophocles' path to poetic distinction, and that is the exceedingly repulsive character presented in the themes of his principal plays. The monstrous history of the Labdacidæ, with all its harrowing details of incest, suicide, and murder, has furnished materials for the celebrated trilogy *Œdipus Tyrannus*, *Œdipus at Colonus*, and *Antigone*; and none but the hand of a consummate artist and the genius of a true poet could have worked out of such

repulsive materials tragedies so much admired for tenderness, pathos, and humanity, and avoided the defecations incident to the subject. "Never," has it been said, "was there a tale more affecting than that of *Œdipus*, and never was it told more pathetically than by Sophocles." * Few can concur with the former part of this panegyric, there being nothing less calculated to stir our affections than the history of a man doomed from his cradle to be a parricide and the incestuous partner of his mother's bed. "But the master-spirit of the great poet," says Dale, "has tempered the revolting details of his plot with so much pure human feeling, such pathetic and redeeming benevolence, that our sympathy is never checked for an instant by abhorrence, nor superseded by disgust. We forget the crimes of *Œdipus* in his misfortunes; nor do we so much regard the murderer, the parricide, the *του πατρὸς ὀλοσφόρος*, as the dethroned monarch; the blind, self-devoted, and despairing outcast; the affectionate and miserable father, who, though his children survive, is yet worse than childless, for they only survive to misery, and of that misery he is the cause." †

We have thus far seen the influences which held in check the genius of our poet, and operated against the free exercise of his dramatic talent. We will now examine what beauties he has created, what magnificent conceptions he has shadowed out, what dramatic excellence he attained, and by what particular qualities of poetic spirit he succeeded. In speaking of the unities, we mentioned only two, for these are more essentially the *Greek* unities, as being distinct from unity of action, which, though enumerated among the unities of the Greeks, is a unity of nature rather than of art, and belongs to no time or people. As Sophocles evinced a scrupulous regard for unity of time and place, so did he prove a faithful observer of unity of action, and the logical progression of his plays; or, in other words, their wonderful unity of action, constitutes one of his strongest claims to our admiration.

If we look over the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, we will feel the full force of this truth. There not an incident occurs which does not bear directly on the final cause of the play, which does not tend to the projected catastrophe. With careful pruning away of every superfluous circumstance, with rejec-

* Knox's Essays, No. cxxxvi.

† The Tragedies of Sophocles, translated into English verse by Rev. T. Dale, p. 9.

tion of every impediment which might hamper the straightforward course of the narrative, the progress of the play rushes to the denouement like an arrow sped from the bow. "The denunciation of Œpidus against the criminal, so worded from the first as to apply peculiarly to himself; the ambiguous response brought by Creon from the oracle of Delphi; the reluctant compliance of Tiresias with the first summons of the monarch, as though he were constrained by some mighty and mysterious agency which he vainly struggled to control; his subsequent vehemence of prophetic indignation; the profane and arrogant exultation which bursts from Jocasta on the apparent confutation of the oracle by the death of Polybus; the faint solitary hope to which the shuddering monarch clings in that pause of agonizing suspense while he is awaiting the arrival of the Theban slave; the resistless and overwhelming conviction which flashes on his soul at the clear, unequivocal testimony of this last fatal witness;"*—all these are circumstances described with such thrilling power, so rapidly tending to the goal, so closely, so logically united, that the interest flags not for a single moment till, with bated breath, the crisis is reached.

"Nec requies nec mora."

It is in this regular progression of the incidents of his plays, in the consistency of his characters, and in the harmonious drifting of grave and gay life-scenes, of light and shade, of storm-cloud and sunshine, to one purpose constantly, that the conscious art of Sophocles reveals itself. He labored according to rule, and, hence unlike Æschylus, he curbed his imagination, and sought rather to present pictures in which the colors are toned by severe art, than wild and rugged scenes that appal the imagination by their grandeur, but offend taste by their irregularity. It is maintained by some critics that Sophocles departed from strict unity of action in one instance at least, that is, where, after the death of Ajax, it is discussed with much warmth whether funeral honors shall be accorded to the dead hero. But this is more an apparent than a real violation of the rule in question, since among the Greeks no less personal interest attached to the due performance of funeral rites than to the most important acts of life. For this reason, therefore, we must consider the interest depending on unity of action as still continuing in the Ajax

* Dale.

even after the death of the hero. Judging now from the highly artistic effect produced in the tragedies of Sophocles by the observance of the rational laws of composition, and the admirable result of the sacrifice of strong but irregular play of genius to true art, we cannot but regret that the poet's spirit should have been cramped by the more galling rule of the other unities, and that the sacrifice of genius to art should tend to sterility and flatness.

But the interest arising from that enchainment of dramatic incidents which constitutes unity of action is of a logical sort, and addresses itself to the understanding, being widely different from the interest that belongs to the incidents themselves, and appeals to the imagination and the feelings. Pathos in narrative, skilful and effective combination of characters, varied and interesting situations with a due relation between them, are features on which greatly depends the success of a tragedy, and these are features which start to light in almost every line of Sophocles. The *Antigone* alone will furnish abundant proofs of this, and will fully establish the verdict which ranks Sophocles among the most tender and human of the Grecian poets. Not the most human, perhaps, in the sense that he has probed all the secret springs of human actions more deeply than Euripides, nor that he has given more lifelike pictures of humanity, with its greatness and meanness, its inexplicable chameleon changes from good to bad, from bad to indifferent, and back again—the scale up and down, over and over, never ceasing, ever changing, irregular. But Sophocles is human in the sense that his personages, being always consistent, never uttering but what is entirely consonant with character and situation, win our sympathies from the first and hold them to the last. Thus, *Antigone* enlists every tender feeling of our nature, fills us with sympathy for her position as she looks with mournful eye on the scenes of beauty and fresh life, which she must quit forever. Here Sophocles pours forth the exquisite sense of life and life-feeling which possessed him with its grace and attractiveness, never descending below nature, never reaching, high on stilts, to thoughts too subtle, too refined, for the situation. Thus, in those melancholy dirges of *Antigone*, wherein she pours forth her soul in plaintive lamentation, mourning the beauty, grace, and life of the world, we encounter not a word nor a sentiment which does not breathe naturalness and simplicity, which does not excite our fullest sympathy and attune our soul to hers. Those

Thou sacred grove of ear-compelling Thebes!
 I here invoke you to attest my wrongs,
 How, by my friends unwept, and by what laws,
 I sink into the caverned gloom
 Of this untimely sepulchre.
 Me miserable,
 Outcast from earth and from the tomb,
 I am not of the living or the dead."

Not alone, however, in delineating the gloomy characters of passion did Sophocles win the admiration of the Greeks. He has also painted in delicate colors the softer sentiments of the heart, and has analysed them with the quick penetration of genius. Thus, in the *Antigone*, a play usually considered as defective in the sentiment of love, we find a description of the power and achievements of that passion, which is true to life, and is strengthened by brevity and a happy choice of language:

"Love! unsubdued, unconquerable love,
 On wealth descending, whose repose
 Is in the virgin's cheeks of rose,
 Alike o'er trackless ocean dost thou rove,
 Or 'mid the lowly dwellings of the grove.
 None of the immortals throned on high
 From thy pervading power can fly,
 No man, frail being of a fleeting day;
 The heart that feels thee yields to frenzy's sway."

There can be little doubt, therefore, that those who impeached the tenderness of Sophocles' feelings and his deep insight into the capricious subtleties of love wholly misjudged him.

Though we must give our poet full credit for the cultivated taste which led him to the delicate perception of the passions good and bad, love, filial affection, jealousy, and hatred, which agitate the female breast, we cannot but agree with the French critics that he has also frequently violated good taste by the exhibition of mere physical suffering. Thus, in the *Trachiniae*, Hercules is greatly lowered by being presented to us writhing in agony, and venting his excessive suffering in piteful whines. How different is such a wretched object, a prey to cruel anguish, broken down, abject, a very Lazarus, from the demigod, the hero of untold battles, who made the whole land ring with the terror of his name; who slew the Nemean lion, swept the Augean stables, and strangled the hydra of Lerna. It must be acknowledged there is something shocking in this; nor would it be tolerated in the modern drama. Again, in the *Philoctetes*, we behold the same thing, and here the effect is still more offensive than in the pro-

vious play; for the admirable character with which Sophocles invests the venerable solitary wins our deepest sympathy, and we are unnecessarily pained seeing him, the high-hearted, magnanimous old warrior, more akin to Neoptolemus in child-like simplicity and freshness of feeling than to the astute and wily Ulysses, groaning in the bitterness of bodily suffering, and twisting in the pangs of agony. Therefore, it has taken many high beauties and many fine qualities of art to compensate for the foul blots which blemish this play, and to relieve it from utter condemnation.

The court perfume that spread itself in the train of the magnificent monarch formed too delicate an atmosphere for those exhibitions of genuine nature which involved an approach to violence that would jar on the delicately strung nerves of painted and powdered dames, or would ruffle the artificial feelings of the aristocracy.

The French claim the Greeks as their models, and, distinguishing the so-called classical from the romantic drama, they impute to the latter, to which school Shakespeare belongs, the faults of violence and excessive passion, which they with the Greeks have avoided. But English critics blame Sophocles for wounding us by the painful spectacle of Philoctetes wrung with bodily pain. In one instance, however, the physical degradation of the hero heightens by contrast the effect and power of the scene. This occurs in the *Œdipus Colonus*, where we behold *Œdipus* in the lowest state of destitution and misery, in rags, blindness, and beggary, but in heart a king, and by the gods invested with the majesty of one, for on him still depends the fate of the most powerful state of Greece.

There are scenes of a different nature which exhibit the tumultuous emotions of the mind on witnessing grand and awful phenomena, and these Sophocles portrays with the power of genius tempered by the skill of art. So well does he combine the features of awful power with the corresponding emotions of the mind, that Longinus has ranked the closing scene in *Œdipus Colonus* among the sublimest conceptions of poetry,* and none who read the passage in connection with the play will withhold assent from the judgment of this great critic. After *Œdipus* had ended his first interview with Theseus, he tells him that the doom which would bring happiness to Athens was now impending. Thereon

“The infernal Ione deep thundered from beneath,”

* *Περὶ ὑψηλοῦς*.—Sect. XV.

and the old man unlooses his squalid garments, and bids his daughters bring him a pure libation; he is arrayed in funeral robes, awaiting the solemn moment. Again the deep-voiced thunder is heard; his daughters clasp the dying monarch's knees, and smite their breasts with wailings long and loud; he addresses them affectionately, and when their sobs are hushed,

" Silence ensued,
A silence, oh! how awful! From beneath
With deep mysterious voice, called one unseen,
While our damp hair in stiffening horror stood.
Again, and yet again, the god exclaimed:
'Come, Œdipus, why pause we to depart?
Come, Œdipus, for thou hast tarried long.'"

Thereupon the king calls Theseus, entrusts his children to him, bids them a fond farewell, and dismisses all, allowing Theseus alone to remain as a witness of the manner of his going out. All retire for an instant, and returning behold Œdipus no longer.

" We marked the King alone with close-pressed hands,
Shading his brow as if appalled by forms
More terrible than human sight can bear.
A few short moments, and we saw him bowed
Prostrate, adoring in one prayer the earth,
And high Olympus dwelling of the gods.
But what the vanished stranger's wondrous fate,
Save Royal Theseus, man can never tell,
For neither red and angry bolts of Jove
Consumed him as he stood, nor maddening storm
Hath swept his relics to the rolling sea.
Some god conveyed him hence o'er yawning earth,
Oped a new passage through her pathless caves,
A painless passage to the realms of peace."

There is in this the quiet of sublimity; the deep repose and hushed stillness; the overt intervention which mysterious power imposes is more sublime than even Milton's combat, with its uplifting of mountains and hurling of mighty hills, adown whose sides streamlets still flowed, as they were flung careering through space. The figure of the king, as he shades his brow,

" As if appalled by forms
More terrible than human sight could bear,"

is a picture so life-like that, in looking on it we can feel a thrill run through our veins, as if we contemplated the reality. But with these beauties so elevated, so exquisitely pure, and so severely classical, Sophocles has failed to elicit nature from the contrasted exhibition of human strength and human

weakness, vice and virtue, in their multiform shapes and numberless shades. Whatever genius he possessed was thus dwarfed in many instances by the requirements and laws of Athenian art.

Goethe in the prologue to *Faust*, remarks: "But most particularly let there be incident enough. People come to look; their greatest pleasure is to see. If much is spun off before their eyes, so that the many can gape with astonishment, you have then gained in breadth; immediately you are a great favorite. You can only subdue the mass by mass. Each eventually picks out something for him. If. Who brings much will bring something to many a one, and all leave the house content." Though this is spoken in sarcasm, it embodies a great truth, a truth the observance of which has made poets the idols of the popular heart and ensured to them undying fame. Sophocles is then too much the child of art, greater by his art than Æschylus, yet rendered by his art inferior to Euripides. Æschylus was a poet of the epic sort, and his dramas have all the grandeur of the *Epopée*, its supernatural machinery and the constant *Deus intersit* to cut short difficulties and solve situations; he has impersonated the abstract qualities of the imagination; he has given to strength an intensity of force unsurpassed; he has embodied in towering personalities conceptions of terror, pity, and hate in such a manner as to give these passions full and unlimited sway over the natures they possess. Sophocles on the other hand, with less epic genius, had true dramatic power.

He had an adequate idea of the laws of probability; he knew where to seek for the materials of his works, not in the shadowy walks of mythology, but in the traditions of his country, those traditions which flitted between the dim realms of fable and the light of history; he sought to give reality and life to his characters by combining different phases of human nature in the same personage, thus elevating them above the abstract impersonations of Æschylus. Sophocles was an artist, conscious of the rules which guided him. Æschylus was the wild untutored child of nature; when an artist, unconsciously so, but endowed with a genius which could not brook restraint. Sophocles employed language severely simple, knowing that thus art approaches nearest to nature. Æschylus' words were "wedged like one who rends timber breathing with gigantic strength,"*

* Aristophan. *Ran.*, 825.

yet because he is unconscious of effort he is constantly natural. *Æschylus*, enamored of bombastic and high-sounding words, uses them unsparingly and often shocks good taste. In fine, *Æschylus* is the type of art in its infancy when nature riots regardless of rule, and *Sophocles* is the type of art controlling nature, holding it in check, and yet often cramping and disabling it. The passions in *Æschylus* are dimly traced: they are simple and elementary, they do not vary in alternate risings and fallings. The passions in *Sophocles* are *dramatic*: they ebb and flow, they are subtle and contradictory, and yet are always natural.*

If we place *Sophocles* in contrast with *Euripides*, we will notice less difference; but yet a difference well marked. *Sophocles* is more artful than his successor, more studied, more classical; he, therefore, lacks the richness, breadth, and variety of *Euripides*, but far surpasses him in true dramatic power. *Euripides* tells the story of his play in the prologue, and leaves nothing but the evolution of the catastrophe for the body of the drama; moreover, he is prolix, even garrulous, subtle and refining, a mouth-piece for the doctrines of *Anaxagoras*. As we before remarked, *Sophocles* carefully excludes whatever tends not directly to the unfolding of the plot. He is too much of an artist to make his plays the vehicles of moral disquisition, and herein he is vastly superior to *Euripides*.

Aristophanes has assigned the first place in the drama to *Æschylus*, the second to *Sophocles*, and the third to *Euripides*, though the probability is that, had not *Æschylus* been the first, he would not have been considered the greatest of the three. The influence of *Sophocles* has been most felt in modern European drama, for he has been looked upon as the archetype of the Greek drama, the poet who filled Greece with the mid-day splendor of art. For this reason we find those poets who affect a love for the classical drama select *Sophocles* as their model, and appeal to his works as the standard of Grecian excellence. In England the influence of *Shakespeare* has been too potent to admit of a Greek rival, but in France, where *Corneille* disputes it with *Racine*, rival art has crept in, and for a long time it was debated whether the modern or antique classical school of art were the better entitled to the palm.

La Harpe, the great admirer of *Voltaire*, considers that author's *Sophoclean* plays superior to the original; but *La*

* *Patir*, p. 37.

Harpe is the organ of French taste, which is very different from the Grecian. Moreover, had not Voltaire discovered in the dramas of Sophocles beauties and merits which his own unaided genius could not reach, he would not have selected them as a model. Yet, with that unaccountable perversity of mind which distinguished him through life, he denies the artistic excellence of Sophocles, and claimed to have surpassed him in many points; less modest in this than the illustrious Racine, who sought to temper and guide his own genius by models of Grecian art. Voltaire considered the chaste simplicity of Sophocles, his classical taste and severe adherence to the rules of art, as lifelessness, as giving mere statuesque effect instead of the warmth and rich coloring of life. He, therefore, attempted, *en petit maître*, an improvement which was to result in the establishment of French taste and genius over Grecian, and in the overthrow of Attic ascendancy. But we will see whether Voltaire succeeded in his design. To mark more strongly the difference he conceived to exist between the ideal standard of dramatic excellence and that reached by Sophocles, he selected the story of *Œdipus*, a dramatization on which Sophocles had expended all the elegance of his exquisitely pure imagination, its brilliancy, warmth, and elevation, the utmost severity of art, and that polish which much toil and the frequent *kind labor* could bestow.

Let us now compare Sophocles' opening of the *Œdipus Tyrannus* with the manner in which Voltaire manages the same scene. The latter brings before us an interview between Philoctetes, whom he has substituted for Creon, and a Theban who relates all that had lately taken place within the walls of Thebes. How different this from the magnificent spectacle with which the Grecian poet opens the scene! The people, young and old, rich and poor, wise and foolish, flock with one accord to the royal house of *Œdipus*, whom they revered as children would a father, beseeching him to check the terrible scourge which was devastating their beloved Thebes. He consoles them, he cheers them, and assures them he will leave no means untried to lighten the weight of sorrow which oppresses them, and they, even amid the terrors which impend, burst into a hymn of thanksgiving to so wise and provident a king. When we contrast this with the accumulated horrors which so rapidly ensue, we recognise the deep art of the poet, the cunning weaving together of incidents apparently disconnected, and their

swift concurrence to a most terrible catastrophe. When we contrast it with the sudden arrival of Creon crowned with laurel, the bearer of the Delphic oracle, with the deep emotion and religious gravity of the choral ode which follows Creon's recital, we are impressed by the deeply tragical nature of the scene and the wondrous art displayed in its construction. Instead of this, Voltaire is flippant in speech and common-place in sentiment in the interview between the Theban and Philoctetes. Jocasta, who is a frivolous character, selfish and irreverent, is a frequent interlocutor in the *Œdipus* of Voltaire, whereas Sophocles used her sparingly, and only towards the end, where her presence heightens the tragical effect of the play, and gives force to the impending catastrophe. Sophocles permits a messenger to relate the death of Jocasta. Voltaire, with affected philosophy, puts these words into the mouth of the dying queen :

"Au milieu des horreurs dont le destin m'opprime,
J'ai fait rougir les dieux qui m'ont forcée au crime."

Very like the subtlety of Lucan, but entirely removed from the simplicity of Grecian genius. We find another consequence of tampering with faultless models in the scene between Jocasta and *Œdipus*—a scene which, in the Greek poet, much resembles that between Macbeth and Lady Macbeth after the murder was done, regarded as a most truthful exhibition of the powers of remorse, as this is of intense anxiety. When *Œdipus* began to suspect the fearful truth, he plies Jocasta with serried questions, fast and frequent, about Laius, his age, appearance, and the circumstances of his setting forth from home, and Jocasta answers with a brevity and pointedness entirely in keeping with the anxiety of the monarch

Jo. My *Œdipus*, what means this wild dismay ?

Œd. Oh ! ask not, ask not, tell me of this Laius :

What was his aspect, what his age ? O, speak !

Jo. His port was lofty, the first snows of age
Had tinged his locks, his form resembled thine.

Œd. Wretch that I am, on mine own head, it seems,
Have I called down this dread destroying curse.

Jo. How says't thou, king ? I tremble to behold thee.

Œd. I fear the prophet saw, alas ! too clearly.

One question more, and all will be disclosed.

Jo. I tremble, but will truly tell thee all.

Œd. Went the king private, or with many guards
Encompassed, as became his regal sway ?

Jo. His followers were but five—a herald one,
Sole rode the monarch in a single car."

Here we have a scene which, for nature and simplicity, cannot be surpassed; but contrast with it the cold declamation of Voltaire:

“D’enseignez-moi du moins ce prince malheureux.

Jo. Puisque vous rappelez un souvenir fâcheux,
Malgré le froid des ans, dans sa male vieillesse,
Les yeux brillèrent encore du feu de la jeunesse,
Son front cicatrisé sous ses cheveux blanches,
Imprimait le respect aux mortels interdits,
Et si j’ose, seigneur, dire ce que je pense,
L’aïeul aït avec vous assez de ressemblance,
Et je m’applaudissais de retrouver en vous,
Ainsi que les vertus les traits de mon époux.”

Voltaire had dramatic genius, but he was not sufficiently imbued with the spirit of the antique to attempt an imitation of Sophocles, and he has, therefore, given a philosophical polish instead of Grecian simplicity; he has given warmth and rich coloring instead of the energy and rapid action of Sophocles. Yet Voltaire is the champion of modern art, whom La Harpe opposes to the poets of the ancient Greek school, and especially to Sophocles; but herein even his compatriots differ from the most laborious French critic of the eighteenth century; and however he may admire Racine, they withhold the fame from Voltaire. In Germany, where the romantic school prevails, the beauties of Sophocles are not appreciated, for the German mind condemns too strongly, and in denouncing what it calls the straight-laced art of Sophocles it neglects or fails to discern those beauties which are hidden from unsympathetic souls. Hence the labors of German critics in the department of the Grecian drama are mostly commentatorial, as shown by the deep studies and laborious researches of Brunck in regard to Sophocles.

The style of Shakespeare is too dominant in England and in Germany, where Goethe and Schiller are modelled after Shakespeare, to admit the hope of a revival of the Grecian drama, for even *Antigone*, the best adapted of all Sophocles' plays to modern histrionic power, never met with encouraging success in either country. Nor, indeed, is it to be wished that an exotic should ever supplant the healthy indigenous art that belongs to each; but the rules of art are immutable, and there is no doubt that a strict adherence to them, such as was rendered imperative in Greece, would lift our modern drama high out of the slough into which it is rapidly sinking. It was this art which made Sophocles the bee of Attica and not a hornet; with a sting sharp indeed,

but not fatal; it was it that curbed the restless imagination which made Æschylus run wildly riot; it was it that imparted that vein of humanity which runs constantly through Sophocles' plays, and relieves the grim character of necessity, which would otherwise have entirely darkened them.

Considered in a moral point of view, no poet could have contributed more effectually to elevate the moral sentiment of his countrymen than Sophocles. Cicero called him the *divine poet*, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus cannot too highly praise the dignity of his characters, their magnanimity and their utter contempt of meanness. Perhaps there is no feature in the creations of Sophocles' imagination we more admire than the evenness of mind and temper with which he endues his principal personages—qualities of character which are the surest safeguard to virtue and the shortest course to wisdom. Indeed, philosophy presents us no more admirable spectacle than a man who bears with undaunted courage the ills of fortune, and knows how to temper his joy in prosperity. If this were apathy or the result of an abnormal constitution of mind, it would not interest us; but when we see a strong will guide the passions, and sometimes reel in the struggle, we recognise a nature that is human, and at once our keenest sympathy is awakened. Thus Sophocles, in his *Œdipi*, exhibits the mind at first overwhelmed and paralysed by sudden calamity, but, as it recovers from the shock, rising gradually above the vicissitudes of fortune, and at last reaching that calm elevation where the tempest of passion never rages.

In him we notice the mild philosophy which places happiness in the faithful discharge of duty, and offers as the sweetest reward to well-doers the consciousness of having pleased the gods. No matter how dreadful the calamities which thicken around us through life, and leave no moment free from retributive fate, there always remains, according to Sophocles' philosophy, the sweet hope that virtue will receive its reward, and this, like a mild ray, lightens the gloomiest hour of life. Iron necessity hurries wretched *Œdipus* through every degree of misery down to its lowest depths; yet he is not utterly abandoned and destitute of hope; for his good actions, like a bright chain, link him to heaven, and at last lift him to its brightness and bliss. On the other hand, Creon is punished for his duplicity and cruelty, by seeing all his hopes blasted, his son and wife fallen by suicidal hands, and himself gnawed by remorse. How admirable,

too, are not the lessons of virtue, and the sentiments of elevated morality inculcated in the choral hymns? The choir composed of venerable sages, whose hairs had grown blanched in the study of wisdom and the service of the state, sets forth in brilliant verse the charms of a virtuous life, the favors bestowed by the gods on those who do their behests, and the happiness in store for them hereafter. This is the *rôle* assigned, indeed, specially to the choir, as Horace says, the *officium virile*, and hence we find them the undeviating friends of virtue and wisdom, even at the risk of incurring the displeasure of their sovereigns, nor could Sophocles have aimed a more keenly cutting thrust at the Thebans, the constant enemies of Athens, and whom Demosthenes always delights to call stupid and barbarous, than by rendering their chorus in the Antigone, the pliant tool of the tyrant Creon. If the beautiful thoughts and sentiments glowing with sound morality, which adorn the choral effusions of Sophocles, were placed in one setting, they would sparkle with a brighter effulgence of philosophy and truth than all the tedious rhetorical dissertations of Euripides. Having written in the halcyon days of Grecian literature and art, Sophocles had within reach all that could charm the eye and ear, delight the imagination, or enrich the intellect; he was in hourly converse with the men who made the glory of Pericles' reign, for whose companionship he forfeited the favors of kings; he had contemplated the divine works of Xerxes, and the sculptured marbles of Phidias; he had communed with the divine Plato, whose philosophy sparkles in his tragedies like gems; he had marked with a seer's eye the speedy downfall of his country, and he strove by his genius to intensify that flame of intellect which made Greece the beacon light to all nations, but which was at the same time the certain forerunner of her decadence.

ART. VIII.—*Report of the Congressional Committee on Reconstruction.* Washington, June 8, 1866.

WE have carefully examined this document, and have failed to find in it any statesmanlike views. It breathes a partisan spirit throughout, and exhibits much more passion than reason. We certainly do not take it up with any disposition to find fault; on the contrary, we should rather commend than censure it, if we could do so conscientiously. But our impression of it is that it is decidedly mischievous;

we think that a more injudicious state paper could hardly have been issued at the present moment.

By this we mean no justification of the South in its attempt to dismember the nation; not one of the gentlemen who sign the Report was more opposed to the rebellion than we, or was more pleased at its suppression; for we have always felt that it was the interest of the South, as well as of the North, that the Union should be maintained in its integrity. The Federal Government proved itself able to maintain it accordingly; but as soon as the rebels laid down their arms, and agreed, through their leaders and representatives, to return to their allegiance, the only true policy towards them was one of conciliation.

The experience of the world sustains us in this view. Even despots find it their interest to be as gentle as possible to those whom they have conquered; and when they do otherwise, they not unfrequently acknowledge their error when it is too late. If it be admitted that a foreign people who have been conquered ought to be treated mildly, in order that their addition to the nation may increase its strength—and such is the opinion of all statesmen and jurists of any eminence—can it be pretended that it would be right to treat former subjects or citizens in the opposite spirit?

Nothing could be more illogical or more unjust; and yet this is precisely what the document before us advocates. There is really no parallel in the history of any constitutional government for the course which the Committee would pursue towards the states lately in rebellion, if its members had their own way. We have instances enough of large sections of country rebelling against the existing government; rebellions have occurred in almost every country in Europe, not excepting England, the Netherlands, or even Switzerland; but in not a single instance have the rebellious districts been treated in a vindictive spirit as conquered states. In nine cases out of ten a general amnesty has been granted—none being punished except, perhaps, the leaders—and from a careful examination of the facts, we are enabled to say that it is in those few cases in which the vindictive or “precautionary” policy was pursued, that subsequent revolts have most frequently occurred.

For our present purpose we need not go beyond the revolt of the seven Cantons of Switzerland, which took place some fifteen years since. In this case, too, the rebels fought as well as they could; they did all in their power to

destroy the federal army sent to subdue them. When they saw they could not do so, but were in much more danger of being destroyed themselves, they laid down their arms precisely as our rebels did, the only difference being that the former were not able to hold out as long as the latter. For the rest, the conquered Swiss talked precisely as we are told the conquered Southerners have done ; that is, they said to the federal government something like this : " We have submitted because you are stronger than we ; not because we think you are right and ourselves wrong. Nay, we dislike you now more than we ever did before, and we freely admit that, if we felt strong enough to-morrow to accomplish our purpose, we would rebel again."

In the document before us great stress is laid on language of this kind ; and lest this might not be sufficient to excite our indignation and our fears to the proper pitch, we are also informed that the Southern rebels sometimes speak offensively of our flag as well as of our freedmen. The rebel Swiss had, indeed, no manumitted slaves to insult, but they certainly spoke offensively of the flag under which they were forced to return. At the same time many rebel officers went into exile, proclaiming to the world that they preferred doing so rather than render any allegiance, even under compulsion, to the oppressive federal government. Still the Diet issued no report boasting of the great conquest it had made, and detailing every fact and incident calculated to degrade and irritate the conquered. If it did issue a public document, it was a proclamation announcing to the rebels that they had only to be peaceable and orderly citizens in future, in order to secure the same rights and privileges enjoyed by those who had not rebelled at all. The leaders of the rebellion were excluded from office for a time ; but, with one or two exceptions, even they were fully pardoned before the end of the second year.

Well, what has been the result ? Have the Swiss rebels taken advantage of the mildness and generosity with which they have been treated ? Have they embraced the earliest opportunity to rebel again ? The reverse is true. In two years after the battles which subdued them were fought they were as loyal as the most zealous of those who fought against them.

Were there not so much anarchy in the South American republics, we might quote several of them, too, in illustration of the same principle. But suffice it to refer to the Chilian

rebellion of 1861. In this case, also, the rebels did immense damage to life and property, and they fought until they were completely overpowered. Yet there was no attempt to make aliens of them; as soon as they surrendered to the government, expressed their willingness to return to their allegiance, and promised not to disturb the peace of their common country in future, all their former rights and privileges were restored to them. The Chilian rebels, too, be it remembered, were by no means pleased at being overpowered; they were, perhaps, as much displeased as our rebels, and said as "disloyal" things. They even insinuated that, if Chili should be engaged in a war with Spain or Brazil, or any other power, the probability was they would avail themselves of the opportunity thus presented to be revenged of the Chilian government. Instead, however, of seeking to do any mischief to the republic, none have been more loyal to its flag from the time this ebullition of anger passed away to the present moment.

But before we make any further remarks on the Report of the Committee, we will let those who issue it speak for themselves. Although our extracts must necessarily be brief, while the Report is enormously long for a document of its kind, none who do not see the whole need complain of this brevity, for we extract the pith of the whole paper—indeed every paragraph which contains a single fact or observation which any one need care to read; more than nine-tenths of the whole six closely printed newspaper columns being filled with the dullest platitudes and driest details that are familiar to everybody. While it is true that it omits nothing which might be supposed to irritate all classes of Southerners, with the sole exception of the negroes, it is not difficult to see that its chief burden is opposition to the President. The Committee do not avow this opposition, or anything of the kind; on the contrary, they sometimes quote his language against the rebels; but they do so in order that they may seem the more impartial and fair when they insinuate that he has been guilty of usurpation, and has proved himself wanting in judgment and understanding. Referring to his appointment of provisional governors, the Report proceeds as follows:

"They had no power known to organize civil governments nor to exercise any authority, except that which inhered in their own persons under their commissions. *Neither had the President or Commander-in-Chief* any other than military authority. It was for him to decide how far he would exercise it, when, how far he would relax it, when and on

what terms he would withdraw it. He might properly permit the people to assemble and to initiate local governments, and to execute such laws as they might choose to frame, not inconsistent with nor in opposition to the laws of the United States. And, if satisfied that they might safely be left to themselves, he might withdraw the military forces altogether, and leave the people of any or all of those States to govern themselves without his interference. In the language of the Secretary of State, in his telegram to the Provisional Governor of Georgia, dated October 28, 1865, he might 'recognise the people of any State as having resumed the relations of loyalty to the Union,' and act, in his military capacity, on this hypothesis. All this was within his own discretion as military commander. *But it was not for him to decide upon the nature or effect of any system of government which the people of these States might see fit to adopt.* This power is lodged by the Constitution in the Congress of the United States, that branch of the government in which is vested the authority to fix the political relations of the States to the Union, and to protect each and all of them against foreign or domestic violence, and against each other."

In this we have the animus of the whole document; it shows plainly enough that, in making all those elaborate investigations of which we have been hearing so much for six months, the Committee have been much more intent on making preparations for the election of a new President than on the reconstruction of the Union—vastly more intent, we fear, on their own interests than on those of their country. But if there are any who doubt this let them hear a little more in the same strain:

"When Congress assembled in December last, the people of most of the States lately in rebellion had, under the advice of the President, organized local governments, and some of them had acceded to the terms proposed by him. In his annual message he stated, in general terms, what had been done, but he did not see fit to communicate the details for the information of Congress. While in this and in a subsequent message, the President urged the speedy restoration of these States, and expressed the opinion that their condition was such as to justify their restoration, yet it is quite obvious that Congress must either have acted blindly on that opinion of the President, or proceeded to obtain the information requisite for intelligent action on the subject. The impropriety of proceeding wholly on the judgment of any one man, however exalted his station, in a matter involving the welfare of the Republic in all future time, or of adopting any plan, coming from any source, without fully understanding all its bearings and comprehending its full effect, was apparent. The first step, therefore, was to obtain the required information. A call was accordingly made on the President for the information in his possession as to what had been done, in order that Congress might judge for itself as to the grounds of the belief expressed by him in the fitness of the States recently in rebellion to participate fully in the conduct of national affairs. This information was not immediately communicated. When the response was finally made, some six weeks after your Committee had been in actual session, it was found that the evidence upon which the President had based his suggestions was incomplete and unsatisfactory."

The object of this is to show what a blunderer the Presi-

dent was; if, indeed, he was not something worse; that is, if he was not disposed to exercise his official influence to restore to the rebels such power as would enable them to carry out their worst designs against the integrity of the nation. Further than that Mr. Johnson has, in our opinion, proved himself a very different man, both as Governor of Tennessee and President of the United States, we have no interest in seeking to vindicate him from the charges thus covertly but plainly made against him; for we have never seen the gentleman, nor had any communication with him; and the gentlemen who make this report are, one and all, equally strangers to us. We take the liberty of making some criticisms upon the paper before us, through no other motive than that it is unwise and unjust; unwise in exciting new strife instead of attempting to allay the old, and unjust in imputing dishonorable motives to one whose proclamations and official acts generally have elicited the approbation of every unprejudiced mind, at home and abroad, who is competent to form an intelligent opinion on true statesmanship. Again and again they recur to the conduct of the President, finding something wrong and reprehensible in everything he does; if he cannot furnish information as soon as they want it, the clear inference is that he desires to conceal his own stupidity, or, what is worse, his evil designs:

"Failing to obtain the desired information, and left to *grope for light* whereon it might be found, your Committee did not deem it *advisable or safe to adopt*, without further examination, *his suggestions*, more especially as he had not deemed it expedient to remove the military force, to suspend martial law, or to restore the writ of habeas corpus, but still thought it necessary to exercise over the people of the rebellious States his military power and jurisdiction. This conclusion derived still greater force from the fact, undisputed, that, in all these states, except Tennessee, and perhaps Arkansas, the elections which were held for state officers and members of Congress had resulted almost universally in the defeat of candidates who had been true to the Union, and in the election of notorious and unpardoned rebels, some who could not take the prescribed oath of office, and who made no secret of their hostility to the Government and people of the United States. Under these circumstances anything like hasty action would have been as dangerous as it was obviously unwise."

That is, the course of the President was as "dangerous as it was unwise." After a few paragraphs of this kind, the Committee indulge in fears, very much like those entertained by old ladies who have once been greatly frightened; after they have relieved themselves to some extent in this way, they return to the President and give him another scratch, or two. As a specimen of these little episodes we quote the following:

"They continued this war for four years with the most determined and malignant spirit, *killing in battle, and otherwise, large numbers of loyal people*, destroying the property of loyal citizens on the sea and on the land, and entailing on the Government an enormous debt, incurred to sustain its rightful authority. Whether legally and constitutionally or not, they did in fact withdraw from the Union, and made themselves subjects of another Government of their own creation, and they *only yielded* when, after a long and bloody and wasting war, they were compelled by utter exhaustion to lay down their arms; and this they did, *not willingly*, but declaring that they yielded because they could no longer resist, affording *no evidence whatever of repentance of their crime, and expressing no regret* except that they had no longer the power to continue the desperate struggle. It cannot, we think, be denied by any one having a tolerable acquaintance with public laws, that the war thus waged was a civil war of the greatest magnitude. The people waging it were necessarily subject to all the rules which, by the law of nations, control a contest of that character, and to all the legitimate consequences following it. One of these consequences was that, within the limits prescribed by humanity, the conquered rebels were at *the mercy of the conquerors*. That a government thus outraged had a *most perfect* right to exact indemnity for the injuries done and security against the recurrence of such outrages in the future would seem too clear for dispute."

It is very common for those who engage in a rebellion "to kill in battle and otherwise large numbers of loyal people;" at least there is nothing very extraordinary in it. Nay, is it not very much like what our ancestors did when they rebelled against England? And they, too, "destroyed the property of loyal citizens on the sea and on the land," &c. Nor were our rebels peculiar in yielding only when they could fight no longer; and we think the same will apply to their laying down their arms "not willingly." Another serious charge against the late rebels is that they have not repented as they should; they have not even expressed their regret. What naughty rebels! They should have gone on their knees and begged five thousand pardons, taking care to chant the seven penitential psalms at intervals. Since they have not done any of those things, but used saucy language to their conquerors, the proper way is to treat them like school-boys; keeping them in after school hours, without allowing them to eat their pies, and finally permitting them to join the rest of the urchins only after they have solemnly promised, caps in hand, that they will be good in future, and display a particular fondness for all the negroes of their acquaintance.

Every intelligent person is aware that there is no more odious precept in international law than that rebels should be considered as "at the mercy of the conquerors." It has been considered as barbarous by every respectable jurist from Grotius to Wheaton; in a word, it is one of those

which have associated the name of Machiavelli with the most atrocious forms of tyranny and oppression. But our government had a "most perfect" right, we are told, to exact indemnities, &c. A perfect right would not be sufficient—it should be *most* perfect. But the English language receives as little mercy at the hands of our Committee as the Southern rebels; if we are not right in this, we must regard the following passage, which we copy from the orthodox columns of the *Tribune*, as a new idiom beyond our comprehension. After making some characteristic comments on "flagrant rebellion," as a *pastime* which any state may play at "under certain circumstances," the Committee of Fifteen proceed to say :

"It is *more than idle, it is a mockery*, to contend that a people who have thrown off their allegiance, destroyed the local government which bound their States to the Union as members thereof, defied its authority, refused to execute its laws, and abrogated all that gave them political rights within the Union, still retain, through all, the perfect and entire right to resume at their own will and pleasure all their privileges in the Union, and especially to participate in its government and to control the conduct of its affairs. To admit such a principle for one moment would be to declare that treason is always master and loyalty a blunder. *Such a principle is void by its very nature and essence*, because inconsistent with the theory of government, and fatal to its very existence."

A mockery, it seems, is something "more than idle;" and yet we confess we cannot see how. All we can understand from it is that mockery is not an idle thing, but something not only tangible but *serious*. But we have many samples of the same dialect in the Report. We need not go beyond this very paragraph for one that is sufficiently characteristic; instance the concluding sentence. Can a "principle" be said to be "void," seeing that to be void is to have no real existence? or can what is void be said to have a "nature and essence?" The truth is that such language means nothing; it only shows that, however much noise the Committee of Fifteen make in and out of Congress, they have no ideas to express. But when they get bewildered in this way they return to the President, and try to show that he is either a knave or a fool. Passing over another column of such rhetoric as that we have last quoted, we come to the following :

"Your Committee have been unable to find in the evidence submitted to Congress by the President, under date of March 6, 1866, in compliance with the resolutions of January 5 and February 27, 1866, any satisfactory proof that either of the insurrectionary States, except, perhaps, the State of Tennessee, has placed itself in a condition to resume its political relations to the Union: the first step towards that end would necessarily be the establishment of a republican form of government by the people.

It has been before remarked that the provisional governors appointed by the President, in the exercise of his military authority, could do nothing by virtue of the power thus conferred towards the establishment of a state government."

Thus, President Johnson is introduced every four or five minutes, or so, like the refrain of a song. He, as well as the rebels, is held responsible, to a certain extent, even for what the newspapers say. We must make room for one extract more of this kind. It will be seen that it is the old story still; the words are slightly transposed, but the ideas are the same:

"Hardly has the war closed, before the people of these insurrectionary States come forward and haughtily claim, as a right, the privilege of participating at once in that government which they had for four years been fighting to destroy. *Allowed and encouraged by the Executive* to organize state governments, they at once place in power leading rebels, *unrepentant and unpardoned*, excluding with contempt those who had manifested an attachment to the Union, and preferring, in many instances, those who had rendered themselves most obnoxious. In the face of the law requiring an oath of office which would necessarily exclude all such from Federal offices, they elect, with very few exceptions, as senators and representatives to Congress, men who had actively participated in the rebellion, insultingly denouncing the laws as unconstitutional. It is only necessary to instance the election to the Senate of the late Vice-President of the Confederacy, a man who lent his own declared great ability and his influence as a most prominent public man to the cause of the rebellion, and who, unpardoned rebel that he is, with that oath staring him in the face, had the assurance to lay his credentials on the table of the Senate.

"Other rebels, of scarcely less note or notoriety, were selected from other quarters—*professing no repentance*, glorying apparently in the crime they had committed, avowing still, as the uncontradicted testimony of Mr. Stephens and others prove, an adherence to the pernicious doctrine of secession, and declaring that they only yielded to necessity. They insist, with unanimous voice, upon their rights as States, and proclaim that they will submit to no conditions whatever as preliminary to their resumption of power under that Constitution which they still claim the right to repudiate.

"Examining the evidence taken by your Committee, still further in connection with facts too notorious to be disputed, it appears that the Southern press, with few exceptions, and those mainly of newspapers recently established by Northern men, abounds with weekly and daily abuse of the institutions of the people of the loyal States, defends the men who led and the principles which incited the rebellion, denounces and reviles Southern men who adhered to the Union, and *strives, constantly and unscrupulously*, by any means in its power, to keep alive the fire of hate and discord between the two sections; *calling upon the President to violate his oath of office and overturn the Government by force of arms, and drive the representatives of the people from their seats in Congress.*"

According to this the rebels must not expect even the privilege of thinking until it becomes evident to their conquerors that they have learned to think in the right way. And the first evidence of this must consist of that sort of

unmistakable repentance to which we have already alluded. When they have thus repented to the satisfaction of the Committee of Fifteen, then they may vote for governors, members of Congress, &c. ; but only for such as may be approved of in the proper quarter. That the voters have been rebels themselves, and have fought against the Union with all their might, is nothing, provided they will reject those who fought with them, and select as their representatives those who fought against them ; that is, we must insist on their acting the part of hypocrites and knaves. We offer them a representative government and tell them they can have no other ; but their representatives must be our choice, not theirs. The President, it is true, told them they might organize their state governments in their own way, and elect for the national Congress such men as they thought best ; but this was all wrong ; he did so only because he did not understand his duty, or because he had not the honesty to perform his duty. In either case the republicanism of rebels must be peculiar ; loyal people may, indeed, vote as they like, but disloyal people must vote as they are told, or their voting is null and void !

But let them vote as they will, and repent, too, even in sack-cloth and ashes, they must still be regarded as " disloyal " if they do not gag their newspapers and prevent their editors from being " unscrupulous ; " especially must they prevent them from " calling upon the President to violate his oath," &c., because there is danger that one who knows so little about ethnology may take their advice. We may seem to do the Committee injustice in representing that they are unwilling to allow the late rebels the privilege of thinking in any way but one—that is, in the way they are required to think. Yet such is the fact ; they will not allow them to entertain an opinion merely as such if it is not an orthodox one ; even their belief is a crime, although it is admitted that there is no danger they will act upon it. This, we are aware, may well seem incredible ; but let the Committee speak for themselves :

" While there is scarcely any hope or desire among leading men to renew the attempt at secession at any future time, there is still, according to a large number of witnesses, including A. H. Stephens, who may be regarded as good authority on that point, a generally prevailing opinion which defends the legal right of secession, and upholds the doctrine that the first allegiance of the people is due to the States, and not to the United States. This belief evidently prevails among leading and prominent men as well as among the masses everywhere, except in some of the northern counties of Alabama and the eastern counties of Tennessee.

"The evidence of an intense hostility to the Federal Union and an equally intense love of the late Confederacy, *nurtured by the war*, is decisive. While it appears that *nearly all are willing to submit*, at least for the time being, to Federal authority, it is equally clear that the *ruling motive is a desire to obtain the advantages* which will be derived from a representation in Congress."

Now, in the name of common-sense, if "there is scarcely any hope or desire among leading men to renew the attempt at secession at any future time," why is all this fuss made? Why do we hear so much about "guarantees" and "precautionary measures"? In any case, is it judicious or dignified for us to have the world believe that we are so terribly afraid of the late rebels? Is it wise for us to give the rebels themselves such an impression of us?

Why, it is precisely such preaching that caused the late war. Our politicians were so much in the habit of speaking of the Southerners as if they were the Titans, and we the Lilliputians, whom they could crush out of existence whenever they thought proper, that they finally took it to be true and acted accordingly. It was precisely such pusillanimity which caused the boast that one Southerner could beat five Northerners. The Northerners have now proved entirely to the satisfaction of the Southerners that this was a mistake; but it is obvious that the tendency of such documents as that before us is to revive the old feeling.

We have as little to fear as any nation that ever granted a general amnesty to its subjects or citizens, because no nation has raised a stronger army in so short a time, or an army that did its work better. It is beyond question that the rebels fought well, and proved a formidable enemy; but since we conquered them after all, notwithstanding the fact that they took us entirely by surprise, why should we not be able to do so again if they make a similar attempt? They understand this, too, and have, therefore, more cogent reasons than they ever had before to refrain from rebellion, and regard us rather as friends than as enemies.

Were it otherwise, nothing could be gained by whining like that of our Committee. If people are disposed to rebel they will not be prevented by any such guarantees as those proposed; much less will they be prevented by threats, or abuse. In any case the latter are unworthy of a great nation, but when applied to a fallen foe they become base.

Most of those conquerors whom we call despots and tyrants have treated the conquered with generosity; neither Alexander, nor Cæsar, nor Napoleon ever issued threatening

or abusive proclamations to those whom they had subdued. And who believes that Washington would have done so in similar circumstances? We do not believe that General Grant would; nay, we are satisfied that not one of the generals to whose bravery and skill we are chiefly indebted for the suppression of the rebellion and the restoration of the Union would have given public utterance to such language as that which forms the staple of this document.

But as already intimated, the Southerners need take no offence at it, since it is directed not against them, but against the President. We have shown how they attack the latter in every form, though always in a clumsy, harmless manner; and finally, after they have duly relieved their feelings in this way, they recommend what is substantially the same as that for which they have so judiciously and patriotically condemned him. It will be remembered that only a few months ago the same gentlemen would be pleased with nothing less than securing the franchise to the negroes at once, while it was their opinion that the rebels should have no franchise before the Fourth of July, 1870. Now, their views are considerably modified, as shown by their proposed joint resolution, a copy of which we subjoin here:

JOINT RESOLUTION PROPOSING AN AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of both houses concurring), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several states as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said legislatures, shall be valid as part of the Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside; no State shall make or enforce any laws which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

"SEC. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed; but whenever the right to vote at any election for electors of President and Vice-President, or for United States representatives in Congress, executive and judicial officers, or the members of the legislatures thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

"SEC. 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress,

or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; but Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

"SEC. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for the payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned; but neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void."

This is undoubtedly the most sensible part of the work of the Committee of Fifteen. It is sufficiently evident that they have not taken it out of their own brains; but if it answers the purpose it is nothing the worse for being borrowed. We do not see that there can be any serious objection to it as it now stands; we hope, therefore, that it will be viewed in a proper spirit both by Congress and the different state legislatures, so that the present bad feeling among certain classes North and South may gradually, if not immediately, give way to one of mutual good-will and national patriotism.

ART. IX.—NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

The Maiden and Married Life of Mary Powell, afterwards MISTRESS MILTON. 16mo. pp., 271. New York: M. W. Dodd.

WE are glad to see this volume reprinted, but we confess that the imprint on it rather surprises us, for it is one which we had never met before on so attractive a book. However we are not the less disposed to appreciate this on that account, but are glad to see our publishers improve in taste and understanding. If the reprint is to our liking, we do not care who dishes it up. At the same time, it is not for its literary merit we value Mary Powell's narrative, and yet it is by no means a stupid affair, even considered merely as an intellectual effort.

But it is as the wife of John Milton, author of *Paradise Lost*, that the lady interests us. This, be it remembered, was the wife who left him before the honeymoon was quite over. Her journal was evidently designed to vindicate herself; but no thoughtful, unprejudiced person can read it without coming to the conclusion that, after all, it was she, and not Milton, who was to blame. It may be said, indeed, that the poet acted injudi-

ciously in marrying a young frolicsome girl of sixteen when he himself had attained the mature age of thirty-five; but that he acted the part of a kind and affectionate husband towards her as long as she lived with him is placed beyond question by herself; although she avails herself of every little fact and circumstance which might imply that, to say the least, it was not strange she left him.

It was not her fault, however, so much as her father's. The latter was a zealous royalist magistrate, whereas the poet was so much a republican and puritan that he was in favor of the execution of the unfortunate Charles. It is but justice to Milton to remember that however obsequious he was to Cromwell, and however ready to laud some of his worst acts, he never evinced any prejudice either against his wife, or father-in-law on account of their opinions, whether political or religious; whereas we have evidence in every part of this book that both had their prejudices against him.

But Milton acted like a man of spirit when his wife left him and refused to return, preferring to obey her father rather than her husband. Finding that she persisted in setting his wishes at defiance, he became incensed against her, considered her conduct as a violation of the nuptial contract, and resolved to punish it by repudiation. Accordingly he published "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce" in 1644—scarcely a year after his marriage; and it was soon followed by his "Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce." These two pamphlets excited the fury of the Presbyterian divines quite as much as they did that of his father-in-law; but Milton was not to be deterred from the expression of his opinions by friends or foes. The more he was opposed, the stronger became his arguments in favor of divorce; nor have they been surpassed in logical force or persuasiveness to this day. Well as he could reason himself, he did not ask his readers to rely exclusively on his own views; but appealed to the whole tenor of the Scriptures, to the New as well as the Old Testament—and showed not only that the laws of the first Christian emperors were in accordance with the Scripture doctrine, but that the early fathers of the Church recognised those laws as just and rational.

Not one of his poems was so much read as these pamphlets; and such was their influence that the Presbyterian divines caused him to be summoned before the House of Lords in order that he might be duly punished as a warning to others. Their lordships examined the pamphlets in due form; but the result was that they found in them far too much truth and reason to render it just or fair on their part to "inflict any punishment on the author." Up to this time cases of divorce were very rare in England; even when they occurred they were regarded as improper. But from Milton's time to the present all Christian denominations, with the sole exception of the Catholics, have held pretty much the same views of divorce which Milton did.

The reader who remembers these facts, will be the better able to understand the extracts which we are about to give from the journal of "Mistress Milton." The manner in which she was introduced to the poet by her cousin, who was a great admirer of him, is highly characteristic of all concerned. It shows, in the first place, as will readily be admitted, that the young lady was but ill-calculated to appreciate a man like Milton:

"As we went along, I told *Rose* I had seen her Guest once before, and thought him a comely, pleasant Gentleman. She laught and sayd, 'Pleasant? why he is one of the greatest Scholars of our Time, and knows more Languages than you or I ever hearde of.' I made Answer, 'That may be, and I yet might not ensure his being pleasant, but rather the contr ry. for I cannot reade *Greeke* and *Latin*, *Rose*, like you.' Quoth *Rose*, 'but you can reade *English*, and he hath writ some of the loveliest *English Verses* you ever hearde, and hath brought us a new Composure this Morning, which *Roger*, being his olde College Friend, was discussing with him, to my greate Pleasure, when you came. After we have eaten the Junkett, he shall beginne it again.' 'By no Means,' sayd I, 'for I Love Talking more than Reading.' However, it was not soe to be, for *Rose* would not be foyled; and as it would not have been good manners to decline the Hearing in Presence of the Poet, I was constrained to suppress a secret Yawne, and feign Attention, though, Truth to say, it some wandered; and, during the last halfe Hour, I sat in a compe at Dreame, tho' not unpleasant one." pp. 10-12.

This feigning was good enough as a matter of politeness, for there is nothing more ill-bred than obvious inattention to those who are reading or speaking to us. But a stronger feeling than mere courtesy should subsist between those who intend to marry each other; each should be frank and honest; neither should make any false pretension. Those who do will repent it sooner or later; for it is but rarely we can deceive others without injuring ourselves. The mother of the young lady understood this, and was, therefore, entirely opposed to the match. Her father did not think they were quite suitable to each other, but he thought the match would be a convenient one for various reasons—the most important of which was, that while it appeared Milton could support a wife comfortably enough, it was easy to satisfy him in regard to fortune. In short, he liked Miss Powell, and was, therefore, willing to marry her for her own sake, whether she got money or not; in the mind of the Oxfordshire squire this made amends for all that would have rendered Milton highly objectionable under other circumstances, and accordingly the objections of his wife only made him more and more determined that he would not allow so good an opportunity to slip. Mrs. Powell leaves home for a few days; on her return she finds Milton decided upon as the husband of her daughter. As a visitor she liked him well, and had much respect for him; but let the Journal tell us the rest. The old lady had gone to borrow some money, but failed:

"'I have done what I can, and can doe no more.' 'Well then, 'tis lucky Matters stand as they do,' says *Father*. 'Mr. Milton has been much here in your Absence, my Dear, and has taken a Liking to our *Moll*; soe, believing him, as you say, to be an honourable Man, I have promised he shall have her.'

'Nonsense,' cries *Mother*, turning red and then pale. 'Never farther from Nonsense,' says *Father*, 'for 'tis to be, and by the Ende of the Month too.' 'You are bantering me, Mr. *Pacell*,' says *Mother*. 'How can you suppose soe, my Deare?' says *Father*, 'you doe me Injustice.' 'Why, *Moll*?' cries *Mother*, turning sharplie towards me, as I sat mute and fearful'e, 'what is alle this, Child? You cannot, you dare not, think of wedding this round headed Puritan.' 'Not round-headed,' said I, trembling; 'his Haire is as long and curled as mine.' 'Dont bandy Words with me, Girl,' says *Mother*, passionately, 'see how unfit you are to have a house of your owne, who cannot be left in Charge of your *Father*'s for a Fortnight, without falling into Mischiefe!' 'I won't have *Moll* chidden in that Way,' says *Father*, 'she has fallen into noe Mischiefe, and has been a discrete and dutifull Child.' 'Then it has been alle your doing,' says *Mother*, 'and you have forced the Child into this Match.' 'Noe Forcing whatever,' says *Father*, 'they like one another, and I am very glad of it, for it happens to be very convenient.' 'Convenient, indeed,' repeats *Mother*, and falls a-weeping. Thereon I must needs weepe too, but she says, 'Begone to Bed; there is noe Neede that you should sit by to heare your owne *Father* confess what a Fool he has beene.' To my B-droom I have come, but cannot yet seek my Bed; the more as I still heare their Voices in Contention below" — pp. 54-56.

This was rather ominous; but there were several other quarrels before the wedding day. Mary Powell describes a part of another scene as follows: "Soe soone as alle had dispersed to their custom'd Taskes and I was loitering at the Window, *Father* calls aloud to me from his Studdy. Thither I go and find him and *Mother*, she sitting with her Back to both. '*Moll*,' says *Father*, with great Determination, 'you have accepted Mr. *Milton* to please yourself, you will marry him *out of Hand* to please me.' 'Spare me, spare me, Mr. Powell,' interrupts *Mother*, 'if the engagement may not be broken off, at the least precipitate it not with this indecent haste.'" (p. 58.)

But the old gentleman would have his own way, and they were married accordingly much sooner than even Milton had calculated upon; it was in vain the old lady exclaimed after all her efforts had proved fruitless: "I prophesie evil of this match." Not much is said of the wedding in the journal; there is sufficient, however, to show that the bride had sad misgivings, and that if she had any love for Milton, it was not much. Indeed, we see no evidence of anything further on her part, than that she had a vague wish to get married. It is not strange, then, that her first care, after marriage, is to criticise the lodgings of her husband. Milton was residing in London at the time, and it seems that he had but one room, and nothing to depend on for his support but whatever he got for giving tuition to the sons of two or three relatives. He was as cheerful, however, as if he owned a whole square in London, and liked his wife so well, as we have seen, that, poor as his situation was, he took no account of the money to which she was entitled. But, instead of sympathising with him in this generous feeling, or evincing any appreciation of his self-denying devotion to her, she writes home to her friends to exaggerate whatever she thought would make him seem incapable of giving her any such support as she had a right to expect. Her conduct in this respect was most unworthy; indeed, no other evidence should be required that

she did not marry him with proper motives. But her description of his room is wonderfully graphic; those who read it will hardly wonder that it has exercised the talents of many artists, foreign as well as native:

"Oh me! is this my new Home? my Heart sinks alreadie. After the sweet fresh Ayre of *Sheepshead*, and the Cleanliness, and the Quiet, and the pleasant Smells, Lightes, and Soundes, alle whereof Mr. *Milton* enjoyed to the Full as keculie as I, saying how they minded him of *Paradise*.—how would *Rose* pitie me, could she view me in this close Chamber, the Floor whereof of dark, uneven Boards, must have been laid, methinks, three hundred Years ago; the oaken Pannels, utterlie destitute of Polish, and with sundrie Chinks; the Bed with dull brown Hangings, lined with as dull a Greene, occupying Half the Space; and Half the Remainder being filled with dusty Books, whereof there are Store in every other Place. This Mirror, I should thinke, belonged to faire *Rosmond*. And this Arm chair to King *Lear*. Over the Chimnie hangs a ruefull Portrait,—maybe of *Grotius*, but I should sooner deeme it of some Worthie before the Flood. Oulie one Quarter of the Casement will open, and that upon a Prospect, oh dolefull! of the Churchyarde!"—pp. 68, 69.

Although Mary Powell remained but one month with her husband, as we have said, it must be admitted that, in one sense at least, she turned her time to good account; for she gives us many glimpses at the habits and views of Milton which we might never have obtained by any other means. Thus, for example, it is only from her journal we know that he was in the habit of inflicting severe corporal punishment on his pupils. Much as she was opposed to this, and strongly prejudiced against the general habits of her husband, it is evident from her account that, if he sometimes seemed cruel, he was not influenced by anger or any other passion than the desire to make good scholars of those intrusted to his care. It is but justice to him to bear this in mind, because there are those who adduce his treatment of his pupils as an evidence of bad temper, by which they want to prove that he was expelled from the University for his intemperate conduct towards one of the professors. But let us hear his wife's account of one of the scenes which she represents as rather common in his study:

"Coming back, the door of my Husband's Study being ajar, I was avised to look in; and saw him, with awfull Brow, raising his Hand in the very Act to strike the youngest *Philips*. I could never endure to see a Child struck, soe hostile cryed out, 'Oh, don't!'—whereon he rose, and, as if not seeing me, gently closed the Door, and before I reached my Chamber, I heard so loud a Crying that I began to cry too. Soon, alle was quiet; and my Husband, coming in, stept gently up to me, and putting his Arm about my Neck, sayed, 'My dearest Life, never agayn, I beseech you, interfera between me and the Boys: 'tis as unseemlie as tho' I should interfere between you and your Maids,—when you have any,—and will weaken my Hands, dear Moll, more than you have any Suspicion of.'

"I replied, kissing that same offending Member as I spoke, 'Poor *Jack* would have been glad, just now, if I had weakened them.'—'But that is not the Question,' he returned, 'for we woulde all be glad to escape necessary Punishment; whereas, it is the Power, not the Penalty of our bad Habits, that we should seek to be delivered from.'—'These may,' I said, 'be necessary, but need not be corporal Punishment.' 'That is as may be,' returned he, 'and hath already been settled by an Authoritie to which I submit, and handle think you will dispute, and that is, the Word of God. Pain of Body is in Realitie, or

ought to be, sooner over and more safely borne than Pain of an ingenuous Mind; and, as to the Shame,—why, as *Lorenzo de' Medici* said to *Socii*, 'The Shame is in the Offence rather than in the Punishment.'

"I replied, 'Our *Robin* had never been beaten for his Studies;' to which he said, with a smile, 'that even I must admit *Robin* to be no grate Scholar. And so in good Humour left me; but I was in no good Humour, and hoped Heaven might never make me the Mother of a Son, for if I should see Mr. *Milton* strike him, I should learn to hate the Father.'—pp. 86–88.

It was not very hard to teach her at least to dislike her husband, as the sequel showed; it is but justice to her, however, to say that there is no evidence, either in her journal or elsewhere, that she was of a violent temper; or that she was at all prone to use offensive language for the purpose of giving offence. The correct impression of her seems to be that she was a cold, selfish, frivolous woman, but not a Xuintippe; that she would think ill of her husband without much cause, and sometimes do what would displease him without much concern, but that she never would deliberately insult him to his face. Indeed we have *Milton's* own testimony in support of this view; he tells us that whatever were her faults, "she was no scold, but in this respect, rather mild and timid;" and to this he adds that finally when she threw herself at his feet and begged his pardon, he forgave her, "for this gentleness alone." At the same time it does not appear that his former affection for her ever returned; for she must not be confounded with his second wife, Catherine, whom he married after he became blind, but who died within a year in child-bed. It is the latter, and not Mary, whom he has immortalized, as follows:

"Methought I saw my late espoused saint

* * * * *

Come vested all in white pure as her mind;

Her face was veiled, yet to my fancied sight

Love, sweetness, goodness in her person shined

So clear, as in no face with more delight.

But oh! as to embrace me she inclined,

I waked;—she fled, and day brought back my night."

It is the same lady, and not Mary, who is believed to have inspired his fine description of Eve in Paradise; although Mary was undoubtedly a more beautiful woman than Catherine, but far from being so amiable, or so good a wife. We are not yet done, however, with the former. We have remarked that she made good use of her time, or rather of her pen, during the honey-moon. *Milton* took her about to his friends wherever he had any; they treated her kindly upon the whole; but when they meant to be most friendly towards her, she thought they meant to offend her, or were at least impertinent. This indeed is a very common failing with those brought up in the country; when they come to town they are too apt to think that all who address them are disposed either to mock them or do them some injury. But let us turn back to the account which *Mary Powell* gives of one of her honey-moon visits:

"Afterwards, when the Doctor came in and engaged my Husband in Discourse, Mistress *Mildred* devoted herself to me, and asked what Progress I had

made with *Bernardo Tasso*. I tolde her, none at all, for I was equallie faultie at *Italiques* and *Folion*, and only knew his best work thro' Mr. *Fairfax's* Translation; whereat she fell laughing, and sayd she begged my Forgiveness, but I was confounding the Father with the Sonne; then laught agayn, but pretended 'twas not at me but at a Loly I minded her of, who never coule remember to distinguish betwixt *Leonardo da Vinci* and *Lorenzo de' Medici*. That last Name brought up the Recollection of my Morning's Debate with my Husband, which made me feel sad; and then, Mrs. *Mildred*, seeminge anxious to make me fo get her Unmannerliness, commenced, 'Can you paint?'—'Can you sing?'—'Can you play the lute?'—and, at the last, 'What *can* you do?' I mighte have sayd I coule comb out my curls smother than she coule here, but did not. Other Guests came in, and talked so much agaynst Prelacy and the Right divine of Kings that I woulde fain we had remained at *Astronomie* and *Poetry*."—pp. 91-92.

This is not the only interesting evidence we find in the Journal of the attention paid by the daughters even of the cuntry gentlemen to foreign languages, as well as music and painting. The author tells us elsewhere herself, that so generally did the ladies of her acquaintance understand Latin, that she often felt ashamed at being obliged to confess her ignorance of that language. Finally she resolved to learn it, though she tells us that she was induced to do so in order that she might be able to render herself the more agreeable to her husband. But be this as it may, it is worthy of remark that her best tutor proved to be her cousin Rose, the wife of Mr. Agnew.

It is time now that we come to the separation. Having written to her friends such accounts as those we have alluded to, it was natural enough that her father would wish to have her home, at least for a while. She feigned surprise, however, on seeing the messengers come for her; nor does she admit in her journal that she had any understanding with her father on the subject. Whether she had or not, her conduct on the arrival of her friends was by no means what it ought to have been; but it was otherwise with that of Milton. No one could have acted more kindly under the circumstances than the author of *Paradise Lost*. But let Mary Powell tell the story in her own words:

"How surprised was I to see *Dick* enter! My Arms were soe fast about his Neck, and my Face presst soe close to his Shoulder, that I did not for a While perceive the grave Looke he had put on. At the last, I was avised to ask him what brought him soe unexpectellie to *London*; and then he hemmed and looked at *Ralph*, and *Ralph* looked at *Dick*, and then *Dick* sayd bluntly, he hoped Mr. *Milton* would spare me to go Home till after Michaelmasse, and *Father* had sent him on Purpose to say soe. Mr. *Milton* lookt surprised and hurte, and sayd, how could he be expected to part soe soone with me, a Month's Bride! it must be some other Time; he had intended to take me himselfe to *Fleet Hill* the following Spring, but coule not spare Time now, nor liked me to goe without him, nor thought I should like it myself. But my Eyes said I should, and then he gazed earnestlie at me and lookt hurte; and there was a dead Silence. Then *Dick*, hesitating a little, sayd he was sorrie to tell us my *Father* was ill; on which I clasped my Hands and begonne to weepe; and Mr. *Milton*, changing Countenance, asks sundrie Questions, which *Dick* answered well enough; and then said he woulde not be soe cruel as to keepe me from a Father I soe dearlie loved, if he were sick, though he liked not my travelling in such unsettled Times with so young a convoy."—pp. 109-111.

The truth proved to be that the sickness of her father was a mere pretence; for he was really not sick at all. When she returned to her father, she was as gay as ever; her only trouble was that the month's leave of absence allowed her by her husband, rather than seem cruel or tyrannical, would pass away before she could enjoy herself half as much as she wished. But, even in acting thus unwisely, there was one redeeming feature in her conduct; she scrupulously avoided the company of all men save that of her own brothers, and one or two young cousins who were the same as brothers to her. The country gentlemen of the party to which her father belonged were then famed for their jovial hospitality; and, as he resided near Oxford, which was at that time an important military post, he had frolicsome young officers among his guests almost daily. But she would go any distance rather than keep company with them; she frequently went to her cousin's, a distance of several miles, rather than meet any of them; and this was really what saved her at last. Her father was opposed to her returning, because, in one or two of his letters requiring her to do so, Milton spoke somewhat sharply. She notes some of her father's remarks on the subject from time to time. "Surely," she says, "he will come soone, I sayd to *Father* last night, I wanted to hear from Home. He sayd 'Home! Dost call yon Taylor's shop your home,' soe ironicalle that I was ashamed to say noe." But the conduct of her cousin, Mr. Agnew, and that of his wife were very different; these two persons always advised her for her good; and it was they who finally induced her to throw herself at her husband's feet and implore his forgiveness. Their conversations with her on various occasions are full of interest. She relates one as follows, alluding to a wish she had expressed that her husband had lived in the country and not in the city:

"Chancing to make the above Remark to Rose, she cried, 'And w^y not be happy with him in *Aldergate Street*?' I briefly replied that he must go to the House first, before it were possible to tell whether I coul^d be happy there or not. Rose staid, and exclaimed, 'Why, where do you suppose him to be now?' 'Where, but at the Taylor's in *Bride's Churchyard*,' I replied. She clasp^t her Hands with a Look I shall never forget, and exclaimed in a sort of vehement Passion, 'Oh, *Cousin, Cousin*, how you throw your own Happiness away! How awfull a Pause must have taken place in your Intercourse with the Man whom you promised to abide by till Death, since you know not that he has long since taken Possession of his new Home; that he strove to have it ready for you at *Michellhouse*!' "

"Doubtlesse I look^d noe less surprised than I felt; a suddain Prick at the Heart prevent^d Speech; but it shot across my Heart that I had made out the words, '*Aldergate*' and 'new Home,' in the fragments of the Letter my Father had torn. Rose, misjudging my Silence, burst forth anow, 'Oh, *Cousin! Cousin!* coulde you Home, however dull and noisome, drive me from *Roger Agnew*? Oulie think what you are doing, of what you are leaving undone! of what you are preparing against yourself! To put the wickedness of a selfish Course out of the Account, oulie think of its Melancholie, its Miserie, destitute of alle the sweet, bright, fresh Wellsprings of Happiness, unblest by *God*!' "

"Here Rose wept passionatellie, and clasp^t her arms about me; but when I

began to speak and to tell her of much that had made me miserable, she hearkened in motionless Silence, till I told her that Father had torn the Letter and beaten the Messenger."—pp. 137-139.

This shows what father as well as cousin was; but it shows also that Mary Powell was quite unworthy of being the wife of John Milton. Indeed, we have but too much evidence in her own journal that she was one of those weak-minded persons, who are always of the opinion of those who have last presented them anything in the shape of an argument; whereas, her father was one of those headstrong, obstinate men, who never admit that they are wrong, and are guided more by passion than by reason. Fortunately she had a cousin who had the honesty and manliness to tell her so. "But remember, Mistress Milton, remember, dear Cousin," says Mr. Agnew, "when you married, your Father's Guardianship of you passed into the hands of your Husband; your Husband's house was thenceforth your Home; and in quitting it you committed a fault you may yet repair, though this offensive Act (the conduct of her father in beating Milton's messenger) made the difficulty much greater." When she hears about his seeking a divorce she becomes incensed, but her cousin addresses her as follows:

"Mrs. Milton, can you wonder that your Husband should be angry? How can you wonder at any Evil that may result from the Provocation you have given him? What Marvell, that since you cast him off, all the sweet Fountains of his Affections would be embittered, and that he should retaliate by seeking a Separation, and even a Divorce?"—There I stop him with an Outcry of 'Divorce?' 'Even soe,' he most mournfully replied, 'and I seeke not to excuse him, since two Wrongs make not a Right.' 'But,' I cried, passionately weeping, 'I have given him noe Cause; my Heart has never for a Moment strayed to another, nor does he, I am sure, expect it.' 'Ne'ertheless,' rejoined Mr. Agnew, "he is soe aggrieved and chafed that he has followed up what he considers your Breach of the Marriage Contract by writing and publishing a Book on Divorce; the Tenor of which coming to your Father's ears, has violently incensed him. And now, dear Cousin, having, by your waywardness, kindled this Flame, what remains for you but to—nay, hear me, hear me, *Moll*, for *Dick* is coming in, and I may not let him hear me urge you to the only Course that can regain your Peace—Mr. Milton is still your Husband; each of you have now something to forgive; do you be the first; nay, seek his Forgiveness, and you shall be happier than you have been yet." But I was weeping without Controule, and *Dick* coming in, and with *Dick* the Dinner, I askt to be excused, and soe sought my Chamber, to weep there without Restraynt or Witsnesse."—pp. 147-149.

A few conversations more like this had the desired effect. Her cousins not only caused her to resolve on imploring her husband's pardon, but they induced her father to consent to her going to London for that purpose, and then gave her money to pay her expenses. There is deep pathos in her account of the result. First she tells us of her arrival in London, "trembling, weeping, hopefull, dismaied," with no friend but her aunt, "a slow, timid, uncertain Soule, who proved but a broken Reed to lean upon." She sends the aunt, however, to seek her husband; and nothing could do more honor to the author of *Paradise Lost* than his kindness and magnanimity on this occasion, as described by his erring, but now truly penitent wife.

"Enters mine Aunt, alle flurried, and bushing her Voice, 'Oh, *Niece*, he whom you wot of is here, but knoweth not you are at Hand, nor in *London*. Shall I tell him?' But I gasped, and held her back by her Skirts; then with a sudden secret Prayer, or Cry, or maybe, Wish, as 'twere, darted up into Heaven for assistance. I took no Thought what I should speak when confronted with him, but opening the Door between us, he then standing with his Back towards it, rushed forth and to his Feet—there sank, in a Gush of Tears; for not one Word could I proffer nor soe much as look up. A quick Hand was laid on my head, on my shoulder—as quicklie removed... and I was aware of the Door being hurridlie open-d and shut, and a Man hasting forth; but 'twas only my Uncle. Meantime, my Husband, who had at first uttered a suddian Cry or Exclamation, had now left me, sunk on the Ground as I was, and retired a Space, I know not whither, but methinks he walked hastilie to and fro. Thus I remained, agonized in Tears, unable to recal one Word of the humble appeal I had pondered in my Journey, or to have spoken it, though I had known everie Syl able by Rote; yet not wishing myself, even in that Suspense, Shame and Anguish elsewhere than where I was cast, at mine Husband's feet. Or ever I was aware, he had come up, and caught me to his Breast; then, holding me back so as to look me in the Face, sayd, in Accents I shall never forget, 'Much I could say to reproach, but will not! Henceforth let us onlie recall this dark Passage of our deeplie sinful lives, to quicken us to *God's* Mercy in affording us this Re-union. Let it deepen our Penitence, enhance our Gratitude."

Then, suddainlie covering up his Face with his Hands, he gave two or three Sobs; and for some few Minutes could not refrain himself; but, when at length he uncovered his Eyes and looked down on me with Goodnes and Sweetness, 'twas like the Sun's cleare shining after Raine."—Pp. 246, 249.

Not only did Milton forgive his wife thus generously and sincerely; he also forgave her father and mother, and afterwards supported the whole family on their being driven from home by the success of the republican arms. Yet his case is one of those referred to as evidence that poets and literary men make disagreeable, if not cruel husbands. Such men, we are told, are too much absorbed in books and in their own thoughts to devote those attentions to their wives which the latter have a right to expect. But since Milton had three wives, none of whom made any complaint against him but the first; and that she acknowledged in the end, nay proved to the world that it was she, and not he, who was to blame, should we not rather regard his conduct as an illustration of his own fine precepts on the cultivation of the intellect?

"How charming is divine philosophy!
Not hush'd out crabb'd as dull fools suppose;
But musical as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectar'd sweets
Where no crude surfeit reigns."

BELLES-LETTRES.

The Queen Mother and Rosamond. By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE, Author of "*Atalanta in Calydon*," &c. 16mo., pp. 232. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1866.

It is easy enough to write in a tragical manner; there is good authority for the opinion that it may be done so as to make not only men, but angels weep, without any genius, and with but little talent; and

yet, perhaps, there is nothing more difficult than to produce a good tragedy. Sufficient proof of this may be found in the fact that not more than a dozen, including ancients and moderns, have entirely succeeded in doing so. But shall we rank Mr. Swinburne among this dozen? By no means. Shall we rank him in the second class which numbers some two dozen? The answer to this too must be a negative; so would the third and fourth question: but the fifth might be an affirmative. That, is we might rank our author among the five hundred who have written some very passable performances which they have called tragedies.

By this we may seem disposed to depreciate his merits, but such is not the case; nor do we mean by it that either "The Queen Mother," or "Rosamond" is destitute of merit, or not worth reading. If we said so, we should neither do him nor ourselves justice. We have read several passages in each piece with pleasure; and we have no doubt that our readers will give a similar verdict. But is this anything inconsistent with the theory that Mr. Swinburne is but a fifth-rate tragic dramatist? In our opinion, if he were but sure of that grade, he might well congratulate himself.

Here and there, in "The Queen Mother," there are some fine thoughts; nay, sometimes we meet with passages which, if they are not true poetry, may easily be mistaken for it even by connoisseurs who do not happen to be in a critical mood. More passages are at least pleasing to the general reader; nor are they wanting in interest, or unworthy of comparison with some to be found in the productions of dramatists who enjoy a world-wide fame. But these are too isolated; they do not strike us as belonging to the piece in which they occur as a whole. In short, neither "The Queen Mother" nor Rosamond" can be regarded as a consistent whole.

For the present we will confine ourselves to the former; and our general impression of it is that while it contains, as we have said, some good thoughts, it neither begins nor ends in a natural manner. Where there is most room for pathos there is least of it to be had; and if we occasionally meet with a pathetic strain, something near what we might expect, it is pretty sure to be spoiled by some untoward expression. Love, when well managed, is a very good thing in a tragedy, as well as elsewhere; but Mr. Swinburne expects too much from it, and yet handles it so awkwardly as to prevent it from performing its legitimate duty in an appropriate or natural manner.

So much for general impressions; now let us come to particulars, and see how far we shall be borne out by such specimens of the performance itself as we can conveniently make room for and find time to select. "The Queen Mother" is a tragedy in five acts, founded on the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's day; the scene is laid in Paris, and the time is from the 22d to the 24th of August, 1572. In the very first scene the king is introduced making love to one of the

maids of honor, and there are very few scenes in the whole tragedy in which that does not seem to be his principal business. Sometimes he is made to talk rather foolishly, but at other times much more wisely than is consistent with his general character; and his mistress occasionally changes her character in a manner equally unaccountable. Yet, as we have intimated, each hits on a happy train of thought now and then, and gives expression to some good sentiments, stale though they may be in the main.

Thus, for example, when Charles commences his attempt at the seduction of Denise de Maulévrier, in the first scene of the first act, asking, "Why did you break from me?" &c., she answers him as follows, showing what a bad thing it would have been to have done otherwise:

"Because I would not have a touch of you
Upon me somewhere; or a word of yours
To make all music stupid in my ear.
The least kiss ever put upon your lips
Would throw me this side heaven, to live there. What,
Am I to lose my better place i' the world,
Be stripped of my girdled maiden's gown
And clad loose for the winter's tooth to hurt,
Because the man's a king, and I—see now,
There's no good in me, I have no wit at all;
I pray you by your mother's eyes, my lord,
Forbear me, let the foolish maiden go
That will not love you; masterdom of us
Gets no man praise; we are so more than poor,
The dear'st of all our spoil would profit you
Less than mere losing; so most more than weak,
It were but shame for one to smite us, who
Could but weep louder."—p. 11.

The king, in reply to this fine speech, swears very gallantly, but under the circumstances, rather unroyally,

"By God's head
I'd give you half my blood to wash your feet."—p. 12.

Henry and Margaret of Navarre have a colloquy in the second scene, which is of a somewhat different character; for they speak principally of hate instead of love. But the speech of the lady is rather long, royal though she be. It contains some good thoughts, but becomes rather equivocal towards the close. As it is, however, a pretty fair specimen, upon the whole, of our author's tragic vein, we transcribe it in full:

"*Mar.* I never saw yet how you love and hate.
Are you turned bitter to me? all old words
Barred past reach for grief to feed upon
As on dead friends? nay, but if this be, too,
Stand you my friend; there is no crown i' the world
So good as patience; neither is any peace
That God puts in our lips to drink as wine,
More honey pure, more worthy love's own praises,
Than that sweet souled endurance which makes clean

The iron hands of anger. A man being smitten
That washes his abused cheek with blood,
Purges it nothing, gets no good at all,
But is twice punished, and his insult wears
A double color ; for where but one red was
Another blots it over. Such mere heat
I' the brain and hand, even for a little stain,
A summer insouciance and waspish wound,
Hurts honor to the heart, and makes that rent
That none so gracious medicine made of earth
Can heal and shut like patience. The gentle God
That made us out of pain endurable
And childbirth comforts, willed but mark therein
How life, being perfect, should keep even hand
Between a suffering and a flattered sense,
Not fail for either."—pp. 20, 21.

It must be admitted that the thoughts on patience are not only good in themselves, but forcibly and poetically expressed. But we have not time to linger here ; we pass hurriedly to the fourth scene, which is laid in Admiral Coligny's house. The hero is made to speak of his wound in rather an unheroic manner, and La Rochefaucauld replies in a way rather suggestive of Job's comforters, but without the solemn, graceful dignity and appropriate imagery of the latter. La Rochefaucauld, indeed, uses imagery, too, but it savors too much of the aviary and the stable.

"*La R.* Take better thoughts to you ;
The king is steady ; and the Guise wears eyes
Of such green anger and suspicious light
As crows his followers ; even the queen mother
Walks slower than her wont, with mouth drawn up,
And pinches whiter her thin face ; Tavannes
Goes chewing either lip's hair with his teeth,
Churning his bearded spite, and wears the red
Set on his cheek more steady ; the whole court
Flutters like birds before the rain begin ;
Succède, who hates no place in hell so much
As he loathes Guise, lets out his spleen at him,
And wags his head more than its use was ; yea,
The main set draws our way now the steel bit
Keeps hard inside their mouths ; yea, they pull straight."—p. 33.

Finally, when the massacre commences, the tragic expression grows feeble rather than strong, although there is no lack of tragic words. Indeed, there is enough of these to melt the most obdurate ; but the difficulty is that they are put together in an unskilful way. The catastrophe is the worst, however ; in spite of all the bloodshed it makes a nearer approach to the ridiculous than to the sublime, since it turns on the accidental shooting of the king's mistress by his majesty's own hand :

"Why, I have slain
The chiefest pearl o' the world, the perfect rule
To measure all sweet things ; now even to *measure* *God*
Were a slight work.

Den. Was it your aim, indeed?
 Ch. O no; no aim. Get me some help all you
 That gape and shiver on this act *enacted*,
 You are all parts of murder.
 * * * * *
 Is she yet warm? I'll give
 That man that will *put an hour in her*
 My better part of kingdom."—p. 170.

The wounded lady revives and delivers a pretty long speech; but there is not much tenderness or pathos in it, although she dies advising her lover to pretend what is not true in order to vindicate himself.

"Say I have slain myself,
 And the thought clears you; be not moved thereat;
 For though I slew a something that you loved,
 I did it lovingly."—p. 171.

The last who speaks is Catherine de' Medici; nor is there anything very characteristic in what she says. In order that our readers may judge for themselves whether we are right or not in the opinion that the tragedy ends rather farcically, we transcribe Catherine's closing speech *in extenso*.

"Ca. (*to The.*) Come hither, sir; as you respect my grace,
 Lay your good care on him, that in waste words
 His mood gall not himself. For this girl slain,
 Her funeral privacy of rite shall be
 Our personal care; though her deserts were such
 As crave no large observance, yet our pity
 Shall almost cover the default in them
 With all smooth grace that grace may do to her.
 You to my son, and you, this way with me;
 The weight of this harsh dawn doth bruise my sense,
 That I am sick for sleep. Have care of him."—p. 172.

There is nothing instructive in this; nothing that excites either horror or pity; neither a good example, nor a good precept is presented to us. It seems to us that if the author was unable to hit on a more suitable catastrophe than the death of Denise, he ought to have committed her funeral oration to somebody else rather than to Catherine. Under all the circumstances it would have been natural enough for the king to mourn her death; but even he would not have been justified in giving it this prominence. In short, Mr. Swinburne "o'ersteps the modesty of nature." Had Denise been the cause of the massacre there might have been some reason—at least poetical justice—in ending the tragedy with her death; but instead of that she was opposed to it from the beginning. We feel bound to repeat, however, that although "The Queen Mother" is a failure, considered as a tragedy, it is well worth reading as an historical poem, in which much accuracy of statement, or fidelity of portraiture is not expected; far, therefore, from discouraging anybody from examining it, we would advise all to do so, assuring them, that if they have sometimes

to make a long search for beauties, they will find quite sufficient to requite them for their labor and patience.

"Rosamond" is not so ambitious a piece as "The Queen Mother" but it is far more natural. The vindictive and implacable jealousy of Queen Eleanor, the gentleness and affection of Rosamond, and her resignation to her cruel fate, and the frantic remorse of King Henry, are very finely portrayed by our author. One passage, fragment though it be, will fully justify us in this estimate.

Ros. Madam, be merciful,
You hurt me, pinching in my throat so hard.
Alas ! ah God, will not one speak for me ?

Qu. El. Yea ; then choose this.

Ros. I will not choose ; God help
I will not choose ; I have no eyes to choose ;
I will be blind and save the sight of choice.
So shall my death, not looking on itself,
Fall like a chance.

Qu. El. Put me not past mine oath ;
I am sworn deep to lay no stroke on you.

Ros. I will not drink ; so shal' I make defeat
On death's own bitter will. Do not look hard ;
I know you are more sweet at heart than so.
Make me the servant of your meanest house,
And let your girls smite me some thrice a day,
I will bear that ; yea, I will serve and be
Stricken for wage, and bruised ; give me two days
A poor man puts away for idleness,
Lest my soul ache with you,—nay, but, sweet God,
Is there no thing will say a word for me,
A little sad word said inside her ears
To make them barm for pit-soas shame ? you see
How I weep, yea, fear wrings my body round ;
You know not hardly how afraid I am,
But my throat sickens with pure fear, my blood
Falls marred in me ; and God should love you so,
Being found his friend and made compassionate—

Qu. El. I have a mind to pluck thee with my hands,
Tear thy hair backward, tread on thee. By God,
I thought no sin so sick and lame a fool
As this lust is.

Ros. But I will drink indeed,
I will not yet ; give me the sword to see
How that must hurt."—pp. 221-225.

Rosamond makes a much more natural speech, when dying, than Denise. The heroism with which she takes the fatal draft, and the tenderness she evinces towards her lover in trying to persuade him that she will recover, are each so true to nature, as to convince us that the author is capable of a much higher effort than "The Queen Mother ;" although we can assure him that he will never attain a high rank as a tragic writer.

The Fire-Fiend, and Other Poems. By CHARLES D. GARDETTE. 8vo., pp. 104. New York: Bunce & Huntington.

As a general rule nine out of every ten volumes of juvenile poetry exhibit the aspiration rather than the ability of the respective writers: It is thus that, budding into authorship, a young person endeavors to

"Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart."

In after-days, when the printed proof of his folly accidentally meets his eye, he may grimly smile over its inflated or common-place language, its echo of what others had written long before, and wish that he could recall every copy, to destroy the evidence of his ambition and his weakness. Needless wish! the thing is as much forgotten, in its feebleness, as if it never had been cast before the world.

The volume before us, handsomely printed on tinted paper, and bound in green and gold, is not much below the average of such productions. One of the poemlets, entitled "Claire: a Spirit Memory," opens thus:

"Claire was my Soul-Twin!
One hearted—
O'er her tomb we were Death-wed,
Not parted!
Claire was my Soul-Twin—
My Bride!
The Sun-rays that nestled
Among the gold floss
Of her hair:—
The passionate Words that wrestled
The fragrance to share
That distilled from her hair—
Ay! were wanton to share
The incense that breathed
From invisible censers that swayed through her hair,
And floated and wreathed
Round the aureous hair
Of my Sun caressed Claire:—
Oh! I envied them, cursed them!
With mad hand dispersed them!
But, ah! vainly
Insanely,
Alas thus I strove
To avert Heaven's love
From my Bride!
The Angels grew jealous;
And so—it befell us,
She died!
Oh! God! in the hour
Of impious sorrow
I cursed Thee, denied Thee,
Reviled Thee, defiled Thee,"

and so on, in a flatulent rhodomontade; prose run mad, in which *horror* is made to rhyme, cockneyishly, with *sorrow*; a careful imitation of

Poe, without Poe's genius; "the contortions of the Sibyl, without her inspiration." This is a fair example of Mr. Gardette's verse-making.

We should dismiss him with the accustomed caution to young persons of his class, not to offend in this manner again; but he has done something far less pardonable than publish the foolish rhymes which he had written. He has deliberately attempted to injure the memory of Edgar A. Poe—a great poet, if an erring, feeble, unfortunate man. The verses called the "Fire-Fiend" give a title to the volume, and the author thus introduces them:

"The 'Fire-Fiend' was written some six years ago, in consequence of a literary discussion, wherein it was asserted that the marked originality of style, both as to conception and expression, in the poems of the late Edgar Allan Poe, rendered a successful imitation difficult, even to impossibility. The author was challenged to produce a poem, in the manner of 'The Raven,' which should be accepted by the general critic as the genuine composition of Mr. Poe, and the 'Fire-Fiend' was the result. This poem was printed as 'from an unpublished MS. of the late Edgar A. Poe,' and the hoax proved sufficiently successful to deceive a number of critics in this country, and also in England, where it was afterwards republished by Mr. Murely, the tragedian, in the *London Star*, as an undoubted production of its *soi-disant* author."

"This", Mr. Gardette says, is "the true history of the poem." In the first place, it is not a *poem*, but an unsuccessful attempt to imitate or forge the mannerism of Poe. Is it possible that, not "a number of critics," but even one, could have read this verse, and do Poe the injustice of thinking that *he* ever wrote such trash?—

"I am Monarch of the Fire! I am Vassal-King of Death!
World encircling, with the shadow of its Doom upon my breath!
With the symbol of Hereafter flaming from my fatal face!
I command the Eternal Fire! Higher! higher! higher! higher!
Leap my ministering Demons, like Phantasmagoric lemans
Hugging Universal Nature in their hideous embrace!"

Surely, since poor Nat Lee wrote his mad tragedies in Bedlam, there never was such insane rhyming as this!

The "Fire-Fiend" appeared in newspapers endorsed as "From an unpublished manuscript of the late Edgar A. Poe, in the possession of Charles D. Gardette, Esq.," and the New York paper which first published it affixed a letter from C. D. Gardette, dated November 6, 1859, as follows:

"DEAR SIR:—The following fantastic poem was written by Mr. Poe while experimenting towards the production of that wondrous mechanism 'The Raven'; but considering it incomplete he threw it aside. Some time afterwards, finding it among his papers, he enclosed it in a letter to his particular friend, labelled facetiously, 'To be read by firelight at midnight, after thirty drops of laudanum!' How it finally came into the possession of the undersigned he is not at present at liberty to tell. The poem is copied, *verbatim, liberatim et punctatim*, from the original MSS. Yours, &c., C. D. GARDETTE."

It is now palpable, on the boasting confession in his own preface, that every statement Mr. Gardette made in that letter is *utterly false*. In a contrary belief, American editors republished the "Fire-Fiend." Not

thinking that it was a forgery, backed up by falsehoods, some critics simply asked how Poe's manuscript came into Mr. Gardette's hands, and asked him to produce it. He had vouched for it as the veritable production (we use Mr. Gardette's exquisite lingo) "of its *soi-disant* author." Of course what had no existence could not be produced, and then comes Mr. Gardette's boast that it was a *hoax*. Now, in addition, Mr. Gardette declares in his preface, already quoted, that its publication in England was "by Mr. Macready, the tragedian." On the contrary, it is extremely doubtful whether that gentleman ever saw, ever heard of it. Some years ago Mrs. Macready, no relation to the tragedian, went to England from this country as a public reader. The "Fire-Fiend" fell into her hands, and believing that it really was by Poe, though far inferior to his poetry in general, she sent it to the *London Morning Star*, wherein it was printed. So it was republished in London, as Mr. Gardette well knows, by Mrs. Macready, the elocutionist, and not by "Mr. Macready, the tragedian"—by the American lady, not by the English dramatic artist.

After this, we recommend Mr. Gardette, should he publish another volume, to have the statements in his preface corroborated by affidavits from reliable persons. His own word will scarcely obtain belief, after the exposition we have been compelled to make here.

A Manual for the Sick. Compiled by E. H. W. New York : General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union and Church Book Society. E. M. Duncan, Agent. 16mo., pp. 60. New York, 1866.

This is a slender, unpretending volume; but it is such as no Christian would fail to derive consolation from in time of sickness, let him belong to what sect he may. Most of the precepts which it inculcates are as old as those good times when Christianity exhibited no divisions, but one brotherhood that was really such. In addition to pious thoughts and aspirations of this character, the "Manual" contains appropriate extracts from the Litany of the Episcopal Church, scripture passages, &c. It is printed in large handsome type, on good white paper.

HISTORY.

A History of the Gipsies; with Specimens of the Gipsy Language. By WALTER SIMSON. Edited with preface, notes, &c., by James Simson. Large 12mo. pp. 575. New York : M. Doolady. London : Sampson Low, Son & Marston, 1866.

The title of this work gives a correct idea of its character; the matter fully justifies it. Even in its original form it was the most interesting and reliable history of the Gipsies with which we were acquainted. But it is now much enlarged and brought down to the present time. The

disquisition on the past, present, and future of that singular race, added by the editor, greatly enhances the value of the work, for it embodies the results of extensive research and careful investigation.

The chapters on the marriage and divorce ceremonies of the Gipsies show how barbarism may exhibit its proclivities in the midst of a high civilization. Those gentlemen of our own time and country, who so ostentatiously vindicate their jealousy or their honor, by assassinating the seducer of mistress or sister, with the pistol or the knife, would not, perhaps, think themselves very high-spirited, or honorable, after all, if aware that they were merely executing an ancient gipsy law*, and complying with a dogma of the gipsy religion, which even at the present day is a very different creed from that of Christ.

The chapter on the Gipsy language should be read by all who take any interest either in comparative philology or ethnology; for it is much more curious and instructive than most people would expect from the nature of the subject. The volume is well printed and neatly bound, and has the advantage of a copious alphabetical index.

JURISPRUDENCE.

The Opening and Closing Arguments of Hon. Thomas M. Hayes and Hon. Francis O. J. Smith, before the Superior Court of Suffolk Co., Mass., Mr. Justice Putnam presiding, February, 1861, on a Motion for a New Trial in the Case of the State vs. Smith. Exposing the conspiracy of D. H. Craig, the private Prosecutor, and the Corruptions and Perjuries of his witnesses. Pamphlet, 8vo. pp. 62. Portland, 1866.

THE pamphlet bearing this title fell into our hands a week or two since, and we were not a little surprised in its perusal. We have never seen either the defendant or the private prosecutor to our knowledge. On enquiry, we learn that the former is a gentleman of wealth and influence residing near Portland, Maine, who a few years since contributed ten thousand dollars, or its equivalent in land, we forget which, towards the endowment of a charitable institution near his residence, entitled "Home for Indigent Mothers;" and that the latter is the New York manager of the American Telegraph Company. The litigation between the parties is so complicated that it is difficult to see what its origin was. If we understand it aright, it arose from a business competition between the gentlemen mentioned. It seems that Mr. Smith established, or tried to establish, a telegraph line which Mr. Craig regarded as somewhat in conflict with his interests. This awakened an unfriendly feeling in the latter which may, or may not, have been reciprocated by the former. All

* See p. 257.

we know from the documents before us is, that Mr. Craig got up a charge of subornation of perjury against Mr. Smith, and got men and women of rather questionable character to establish it by their oaths.

From the attention we have devoted to the subject, we cannot think it strange that the defendant was taken by surprise, and that the verdict of the jury was against him. It was but natural that he should endeavor to ascertain, as soon as he could, what were the motives of the witnesses who testified against him. His researches in this direction placed in his hands an amount of documentary and other evidence which he thought would enable him to procure a new trial and prove that a conspiracy had been gotten up against him.

It seems that the Judge who tried the original issue, regarded the case in the same light, for he granted a new trial in May last. An extract or two from the decision of the Judge, which is quite elaborate, will give a more satisfactory view of the nature of the case than any statement we could undertake to give of it without seeming to be partial to the defendant:

"In this case the defendant is indicted for procuring Charles C. Northrup to commit the crime of perjury. The indictment sets forth the alleged fact of the offence of perjury committed by Northrup, and then the alleged facts which make the defendant guilty of the offence of procuring Northrup to commit such perjury. It alleges that Northrup committed the perjury in his answers to three interrogatories made while giving his deposition for defendant, to be used in the civil action—*Craig v. Smith*. At the trial the government offered evidence tending to show that the offence of perjury had been committed by Northrup in these particulars: (1.) In answering that Mrs. Northrup (the wife of Northrup) had not lived with defendant as his mistress, before he (Northrup) married her. (2.) In answering that he (Northrup) had not had any conversation or correspondence with the defendant, or with any persons whatever, in relation to the facts stated by him upon his previous examination, or his testimony to be given thereon, or in relation to his then present testimony. (3.) In answering that he had seen no copy of the interrogatories which he was then answering, and that no one had read them to him. The other assignments were either abandoned, or it was conceded that the evidence did not support any other.

"Now it was for the government of course to prove two propositions, (1) the perjury by Northrup, and (2) that the defendant procured the particular perjuries to be committed. Upon the first proposition, the rule is, that the perjury must be proved by something more than the testimony of a single witness, the testimony of one witness simply balancing the testimony of the other. The oath of the opposing witness must be supported by independent corroborating testimony of such a character as shall fairly turn the scale, and overcome the oath of the alleged perjured witness. This would be the rule if Northrup himself was on trial for the offence. In this case the alleged perjuror is the witness testifying to his perjury, and the rule, therefore, should be very rigidly applied.

"The corroborating evidence as to the assignment of perjury, in reference to Mrs. Northrup's living with Smith as his mistress, etc., was the testimony of Mrs. Northrup, and a letter written by the defendant to her in 1851, just before his marriage to his second wife. The evidence as to Northrup's knowledge of this fact rested on his own testimony, and that of Mrs. Northrup. The corroborating evidence as the assignments of perjury, in reference to correspondence, conversations, and seeing copies of the interrogatories, came substantially from Mrs. Northrup.

"Then as to the other proposition, that the defendant procured these particular perjuries to be committed, it was incumbent on the government to prove

that the defendant procured Northrup to give such false testimony, knowing at the time that Northrup would thus commit the perjury, that is, would wilfully swear falsely to what he knew to be untrue. To sustain this burden, the government relied, first, upon Northrup's testimony. It was claimed at the trial that the testimony of Northrup ought not to be believed on this point, unless corroborated by other evidence, as he was the person who, by his own confession, had perjured himself, and the court, in instructing the jury on this point, gave them, substantially, the instructions which are usually given in reference to the testimony of accomplices.

"To corroborate Northrup, therefore, the government offered the testimony of Mrs. Northrup, which tended to sustain the theory of the government, and the letters written by the defendant to Mrs. Northrup, one bearing date December 31, 1861, and the other bearing date January 5, 1862.

"I have thus stated the position of the case at the former trial, in order that the bearing and effect of the newly-discovered testimony may be better understood. It will be seen that the case for the government rested substantially upon the testimony of Mr. and Mrs. Northrup."

The Judge then proceeds to review the character of the testimony adduced against Smith, at the first trial, and the impression we derive from his doing so is, that no respectable person was ever convicted, even by a packed jury, on more corrupt evidence. Referring to certain letters which were made the chief instruments in securing a verdict against the defendant, the Judge observes:

"There is no evidence that he ever saw them, or that their contents were ever communicated to him, except from his own statements and that of his wife. Granting that the letters show a strong desire on the part of the defendant that Northrup should testify as the defendant stated in his letter, such desire, if he testified voluntarily and without any inducement from defendant, does not constitute the offense. Defendant must have procured him by some improper influence, to give a false answer, knowing, at the time, that he would wilfully perjure himself in that particular. There must be a procuring instigating, or inciting of the witness." (*Commonwealth vs. Douglass*, 5 Met., 241.) No inducements or promises are held out in any way in the letters. The fact that the defendant expressed a wish that he should testify in a certain way, and the fact that Northrup did testify in that way, cannot, of themselves, in the absence of evidence that Northrup ever saw the letters, or knew of defendant's wish, afford any presumption of fact upon which a jury can find that defendant procured him so to testify, knowing that he would perjure himself by wilfully testifying falsely in those particulars. They may afford ground for surmise or suspicion, but nothing more."

When the judge who first tried the case feels it incumbent on him to state these facts in justice to the accused, regarding the evidence against him as unworthy of belief, and accordingly granting a new trial, what may we expect from the defendant's counsel? In the pamphlet before us there are two able speeches; one by Mr. Hayes, and the other by the defendant himself. The analysis of the whole case by the latter; his criticisms on the character and motives of the witnesses brought against him; his comments on the letters of Craig to those witnesses, and the inducements he offers them to make out a good case, leave no doubt on our mind (especially in view of Craig's printed letters, of whose genuineness there seems to be no question) that he has been the victim of one of the basest conspiracies ever concocted. From the extracts quoted in the pamphlet before us from letters alleged to have been written to his

witnesses by Mr. Craig, while getting up the case against Smith, we select the following as sufficient, in our opinion, to give a pretty accurate idea of the character of the whole :

"FRIEND ROWE—Prescott advises me that the Chicago package reached him this morning and that it will reach Blanchard's hands this P. M. It contains documents of importance for our military friend to read and digest, before he undertakes to give his formal testimony in regard to the letters, &c. The letters are good as far as they go, but by themselves nearly valueless."

"In regard to money matters, I really wish I was able to be generous to N., as I certainly fully appreciate the disagreeable task he is kindly undertaking in my behalf, as well as in behalf of truth and justice."

"You, of course, will pay N. the one hundred dollars which is his due, now that he came forward to expose Smith's villainy, verbally, so as to give the letters a degree of vitality which in the absence of what N. can explain, THEY DID NOT POSSESS; and after he has testified to the facts we desire to bring out, you will please call upon Blanchard, 83 State street; he will give you a hundred dollars more, which you may hand to N., to enable him to take a little recreation during the balance of his furlough. And you will also please convey to him my best thanks for his kindness, and tell him if hereafter he should want a friend, he may confidently rely upon me, and I shall take real pleasure in serving him in any way in my power. The question may be put to N. if I have offered him any pecuniary inducement to come to Boston to testify against Smith, and therefore it will be best not to give him the extra hundred dollars till after he has testified."

"FRIEND ROWE—I prevailed upon Mrs. N.'s brother to come here, and through him I have had a pleasant interview with her, and she has gone to Illinois to see N., and try to have a perfect reconciliation with him; and if she succeeds, I have little doubt she will go as far as N. has gone in dealing out justice to Smith. All now looks well."

"It will be my duty to find some respectable employment for N. or Thrup as soon as I can get him released from the army; and I wish you would keep your eyes open for business for him until I can see him in a position to support his family in a respectable way. I shall feel bound to assist him or his family, pecuniarily, to the extent of my ability, or to the extent of their necessities."

We do not know whether Mr. Craig is still the chief operator of the American Telegraph Company; at all events, we trust that his present operations are somewhat more straightforward than those in which he seems to have been engaged some three years ago, when he penned the above. We suppose it was not the same gentleman who was the agent of the Associated Press about the same time; but if it was, we can now see how difficult it was for him to avoid the complaints made against him by some of his employers; for the trouble he took to have the law vindicated in the case of Smith would seem quite enough for any one man of ordinary capacity and enterprise. It will be bad enough if all his virtuous labors prove of no avail after all; still worse if he is proved a conspirator instead of a philanthropist; and it must be admitted that present appearances are rather unfavorable. Is there any reason why the Associated Press would not help him out of the scrape? In the meantime, the unrighteous Smith, whom it would have been so good a thing to crush, had he only submitted in a decent manner to be crushed, asks some questions which it is rather difficult to answer. We transcribe the conclusion of his speech in support of his motion for a new trial.

"Was ever a case, in the annals of criminal courts, so studied with rascality and falsehoods, to accomplish a wicked and malicious persecution of a man?"

Poe, without Poe's genius; "the contortions of the Sibyl, without her inspiration." This is a fair example of Mr. Gardette's verse-making.

We should dismiss him with the accustomed caution to young persons of his class, not to offend in this manner again; but he has done something far less pardonable than publish the foolish rhymes which he had written. He has deliberately attempted to injure the memory of Edgar A. Poe—a great poet, if an erring, feeble, unfortunate man. The verses called the "Fire-Fiend" give a title to the volume, and the author thus introduces them:

"The 'Fire-Fiend' was written some six years ago, in consequence of a literary discussion, wherein it was asserted that the marked originality of style, both as to conception and expression, in the poems of the late Edgar Allan Poe, rendered a successful imitation difficult, even to impossibility. The author was challenged to produce a poem, in the manner of 'The Raven,' which should be accepted by the general critic as the genuine composition of Mr. Poe, and the 'Fire-Fiend' was the result. This poem was printed as 'from an unpublished MS. of the late Edgar A. Poe,' and the hoax proved sufficiently successful to deceive a number of critics in this country, and also in England, where it was afterwards republished by Mr. Murety, the tragedian, in the *London Star*, as an undoubted production of its *soi-disant* author."

"This," Mr. Gardette says, is "the true history of the poem." In the first place, it is not a *poem*, but an unsuccessful attempt to imitate or forge the mannerism of Poe. Is it possible that, not "a number of critics," but even one, could have read this verse, and do Poe the injustice of thinking that he ever wrote such trash?—

"I am Monarch of the Fire! I am Vassal-King of Death!
World encircling, with the shadow of its Doom upon my breath!
With the symbol of Hereafter flaming from my fatal face!
I command the Eternal Fire! Higher! higher! higher! higher!
Leap my ministering Demons, like Phantasmagoric lemans
Hugging Universal Nature in their hideous embrace!"

Surely, since poor Nat Lee wrote his mad tragedies in Bedlam, there never was such insane rhyming as this!

The "Fire-Fiend" appeared in newspapers endorsed as "From an unpublished manuscript of the late Edgar A. Poe, in the possession of Charles D. Gardette, Esq.," and the New York paper which first published it affixed a letter from C. D. Gardette, dated November 6, 1859, as follows:

"DEAR SIR:—The following fantastic poem was written by Mr. Poe while experimenting towards the production of that wondrous mechanism 'The Raven;' but considering it incomplete he threw it aside. Some time afterwards, finding it among his papers, he enclosed it in a letter to his particular friend, labelled facetiously, 'To be read by firelight at midnight, after thirty drops of Laudanum!' How it finally came into the possession of the undersigned he is not at present at liberty to tell. The poem is copied, *verbatim, literatim et punctatim*, from the original MSS. Yours, &c., C. D. GARDETTE."

It is now palpable, on the boasting confession in his own preface, that every statement Mr. Gardette made in that letter is *utterly false*. In a contrary belief, American editors republished the "Fire-Fiend." Not

thinking that it was a forgery, backed up by falsehoods, some critics simply asked how Poe's manuscript came into Mr. Gardette's hands, and asked him to produce it. He had vouched for it as the veritable production (we use Mr. Gardette's exquisite lingo) "of its *soi-disant* author." Of course what had no existence could not be produced, and then comes Mr. Gardette's boast that it was a *hoax*. Now, in addition, Mr. Gardette declares in his preface, already quoted, that its publication in England was "by Mr. Macready, *the tragedian*." On the contrary, it is extremely doubtful whether that gentleman ever saw, ever heard of it. Some years ago Mrs. Macready, no relation to the tragedian, went to England from this country as a public reader. The "Fire-Fiend" fell into her hands, and believing that it really was by Poe, though far inferior to his poetry in general, she sent it to the *London Morning Star*, wherein it was printed. So it was republished in London, as Mr. Gardette well knows, by Mrs. Macready, the elocutionist, and *not* by "Mr. Macready, the tragedian"—by the American lady, not by the English dramatic artist.

After this, we recommend Mr. Gardette, should he publish another volume, to have the statements in his preface corroborated by affidavits from reliable persons. His own word will scarcely obtain belief, after the exposition we have been compelled to make here.

A Manual for the Sick. Compiled by E. H. W. New York : General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union and Church Book Society. E. M. Duncan, Agent. 16mo., pp. 60. New York, 1866.

This is a slender, unpretending volume; but it is such as no Christian would fail to derive consolation from in time of sickness, let him belong to what sect he may. Most of the precepts which it inculcates are as old as those good times when Christianity exhibited no divisions, but one brotherhood that was really such. In addition to pious thoughts and aspirations of this character, the "Manual" contains appropriate extracts from the Litany of the Episcopal Church, scripture passages, &c. It is printed in large handsome type, on good white paper.

HISTORY.

A History of the Gipsies; with Specimens of the Gipsy Language. By WALTER SIMSON. Edited with preface, notes, &c., by James Simson. Large 12mo. pp. 575. New York : M. Doolady. London : Sampson Low, Son & Marston, 1856.

THE title of this work gives a correct idea of its character; the matter fully justifies it. Even in its original form it was the most interesting and reliable history of the Gipsies with which we were acquainted. But it is now much enlarged and brought down to the present time. The

disquisition on the past, present, and future of that singular race, added by the editor, greatly enhances the value of the work, for it embodies the results of extensive research and careful investigation.

The chapters on the marriage and divorce ceremonies of the Gipsies show how barbarism may exhibit its proclivities in the midst of a high civilization. Those gentlemen of our own time and country, who so ostentatiously vindicate their jealousy or their honor, by assassinating the seducer of mistress or sister, with the pistol or the knife, would not, perhaps, think themselves very high-spirited, or honorable, after all, if aware that they were merely executing an ancient gipsy law*, and complying with a dogma of the gipsy religion, which even at the present day is a very different creed from that of Christ.

The chapter on the Gipsy language should be read by all who take any interest either in comparative philology or ethnology; for it is much more curious and instructive than most people would expect from the nature of the subject. The volume is well printed and neatly bound, and has the advantage of a copious alphabetical index.

JURISPRUDENCE.

The Opening and Closing Arguments of Hon. Thomas M. Hayes and Hon. Francis O. J. Smith, before the Superior Court of Suffolk Co., Mass., Mr. Justice Putnam presiding, February, 1865, on a Motion for a New Trial in the Case of the State vs. Smith. Exposing the conspiracy of D. H. Craig, the private Prosecutor, and the Corruptions and Perjuries of his witnesses. Pamphlet, 8vo. pp. 62. Portland, 1866.

THE pamphlet bearing this title fell into our hands a week or two since, and we were not a little surprised in its perusal. We have never seen either the defendant or the private prosecutor to our knowledge. On enquiry, we learn that the former is a gentleman of wealth and influence residing near Portland, Maine, who a few years since contributed ten thousand dollars, or its equivalent in land, we forget which, towards the endowment of a charitable institution near his residence, entitled "Home for Indigent Mothers;" and that the latter is the New York manager of the American Telegraph Company. The litigation between the parties is so complicated that it is difficult to see what its origin was. If we understand it aright, it arose from a business competition between the gentlemen mentioned. It seems that Mr. Smith established, or tried to establish, a telegraph line which Mr. Craig regarded as somewhat in conflict with his interests. This awakened an unfriendly feeling in the latter which may, or may not, have been reciprocated by the former. All

* See p. 257.

we know from the documents before us is, that Mr. Craig got up a charge of subornation of perjury against Mr. Smith, and got men and women of rather questionable character to establish it by their oaths.

From the attention we have devoted to the subject, we cannot think it strange that the defendant was taken by surprise, and that the verdict of the jury was against him. It was but natural that he should endeavor to ascertain, as soon as he could, what were the motives of the witnesses who testified against him. His researches in this direction placed in his hands an amount of documentary and other evidence which he thought would enable him to procure a new trial and prove that a conspiracy had been gotten up against him.

It seems that the Judge who tried the original issue, regarded the case in the same light, for he granted a new trial in May last. An extract or two from the decision of the Judge, which is quite elaborate, will give a more satisfactory view of the nature of the case than any statement we could undertake to give of it without seeming to be partial to the defendant:

"In this case the defendant is indicted for procuring Charles C. Northrup to commit the crime of perjury. The indictment sets forth the alleged fact of the offence of perjury committed by Northrup, and then the alleged facts which make the defendant guilty of the offence of procuring Northrup to commit such perjury. It alleges that Northrup committed the perjury in his answers to three interrogatories made while giving his deposition for defendant, to be used in the civil action—*Craig v. Smith*. At the trial the government offered evidence tending to show that the offence of perjury had been committed by Northrup in these particulars: (1) In answering that Mrs. Northrup (the wife of Northrup) had not lived with defendant as his mistress, before he (Northrup) married her. (2) In answering that he (Northrup) had not had any conversation or correspondence with the defendant, or with any persons whatever, in relation to the facts stated by him upon his previous examination, or his testimony to be given thereon, or in relation to his then present testimony. (3.) In answering that he had seen no copy of the interrogatories which he was then answering, and that no one had read them to him. The other assignments were either abandoned, or it was conceded that the evidence did not support any other.

"Now it was for the government of course to prove two propositions, (1) the perjury by Northrup, and (2) that the defendant procured the particular perjuries to be committed. Upon the first proposition, the rule is, that the perjury must be proved by something more than the testimony of a single witness, the testimony of one witness simply balancing the testimony of the other. The oath of the opposing witness must be supported by independent corroborating testimony of such a character as shall fairly turn the scale, and overcome the oath of the alleged perjured witness. This would be the rule if Northrup himself was on trial for the offence. In this case the alleged perjuror is the witness testifying to his perjury, and the rule, therefore, should be very rigidly applied.

"The corroborating evidence as to the assignment of perjury, in reference to Mrs. Northrup's living with Smith as his mistress, etc., was the testimony of Mrs. Northrup, and a letter written by the defendant to her in 1851, just before his marriage to his second wife. The evidence as to Northrup's knowledge of this fact rested on his own testimony, and that of Mrs. Northrup. The corroborating evidence as the assignments of perjury, in reference to correspondence, conversations, and seeing copies of the interrogatories, came substantially from Mrs. Northrup.

"Then as to the other proposition that the defendant procured these particular perjuries to be committed, it was incumbent on the government to prove

that the defendant procured Northrup to give such false testimony, knowing at the time that Northrup would thus commit the perjury, that is, would wilfully swear falsely to what he knew to be untrue. To sustain this burden, the government relied, first, upon Northrup's testimony. It was claimed at the trial that the testimony of Northrup ought not to be believed on this point, unless corroborated by other evidence, as he was the person who, by his own confession, had perjured himself, and the court, in instructing the jury on this point, gave them, substantially, the instructions which are usually given in reference to the testimony of accomplices.

"To corroborate Northrup, therefore, the government offered the testimony of Mrs. Northrup, which tended to sustain the theory of the government, and the letters written by the defendant to Mrs. Northrup, one bearing date December 31, 1861, and the other bearing date January 5, 1862.

"I have thus stated the position of the case at the former trial, in order that the bearing and effect of the newly-discovered testimony may be better understood. It will be seen that the case for the government rested substantially upon the testimony of Mr. and Mrs. Northrup."

The Judge then proceeds to review the character of the testimony adduced against Smith, at the first trial, and the impression we derive from his doing so is, that no respectable person was ever convicted, even by a packed jury, on more corrupt evidence. Referring to certain letters which were made the chief instruments in securing a verdict against the defendant, the Judge observes:

"There is no evidence that he ever saw them, or that their contents were ever communicated to him, except from his own statements and that of his wife. Granting that the letters show a strong desire on the part of the defendant that Northrup should testify as the defendant stated in his letter, such desire, if he testified voluntarily and without any inducement from defendant, does not constitute the offense. Defendant must have procured him by some improper influence, to give a false answer, knowing, at the time, that he would wilfully perjure himself in that particular. There must be a procuring instigating, or inciting of the witness." (*Commonwealth vs. Douglass*, 5 Met., 241.) No inducements or promises are held out in any way in the letters. The fact that the defendant expressed a wish that he should testify in a certain way, and the fact that Northrup did testify in that way, cannot, of themselves, in the absence of evidence that Northrup ever saw the letters, or knew of defendant's wish, afford any presumption of fact upon which a jury can find that defendant procured him so to testify, knowing that he would perjure himself by wilfully testifying falsely in those particulars. They may afford ground for surmise or suspicion, but nothing more."

When the judge who first tried the case feels it incumbent on him to state these facts in justice to the accused, regarding the evidence against him as unworthy of belief, and accordingly granting a new trial, what may we expect from the defendant's counsel? In the pamphlet before us there are two able speeches; one by Mr. Hayes, and the other by the defendant himself. The analysis of the whole case by the latter; his criticisms on the character and motives of the witnesses brought against him; his comments on the letters of Craig to those witnesses, and the inducements he offers them to make out a good case, leave no doubt on our mind (especially in view of Craig's printed letters, of whose genuineness there seems to be no question) that he has been the victim of one of the basest conspiracies ever concocted. From the extracts quoted in the pamphlet before us from letters alleged to have been written to his

witnesses by Mr. Craig, while getting up the case against Smith, we select the following as sufficient, in our opinion, to give a pretty accurate idea of the character of the whole :

"FRIEND ROWE—Prescott advises me that the Chicago package reached him this morning and that it will reach Blanchard's hands this P. M. It contains documents of importance for our military friend to read and digest, before he undertakes to give his formal testimony in regard to the letters, &c. The letters are good as far as they go, but by themselves nearly valueless."

"In regard to money matters, I really wish I was able to be generous to N., as I certainly fully appreciate the disagreeable task he is kindly undertaking in my behalf, as well as in behalf of truth and justice."

"You, of course, will pay N. the one hundred dollars which is his due, now that he came forward to expose Smith's villainy, verbally, so as to give the letters a degree of validity which in the absence of what N. can explain, THEY DID NOT POSSESS; and after he has testified to the facts we desire to bring out, you will please call upon Blanchard, 83 State street; he will give you a hundred dollars more, which you may hand to N., to enable him to take a little recreation during the balance of his furlough. And you will also please convey to him my best thanks for his kindness, and tell him if hereafter he should want a friend, he may confidently rely upon me, and I shall take real pleasure in serving him in any way in my power. The question may be put to N. if I have offered him any pecuniary inducement to come to Boston to testify against Smith, and therefore it will be best not to give him the extra hundred dollars till after he has testified."

"FRIEND ROWE—I prevailed upon Mrs. N.'s brother to come here, and through him I have had a pleasant interview with her, and she has gone to Illinois to see N., and try to have a perfect reconciliation with him; and if she succeeds, I have little doubt she will go as far as N. has gone in dealing out justice to Smith. All now looks well."

"It will be my duty to find some respectable employment for Northrup as soon as I can get him released from the army; and I wish you would keep your eyes open for business for him until I can see him in a position to support his family in a respectable way. I shall feel bound to assist him or his family, pecuniarily, to the extent of my ability, or to the extent of their necessities."

We do not know whether Mr. Craig is still the chief operator of the American Telegraph Company; at all events, we trust that his present operations are somewhat more straightforward than those in which he seems to have been engaged some three years ago, when he penned the above. We suppose it was not the same gentleman who was the agent of the Associated Press about the same time; but if it was, we can now see how difficult it was for him to avoid the complaints made against him by some of his employers; for the trouble he took to have the law vindicated in the case of Smith would seem quite enough for any one man of ordinary capacity and enterprise. It will be bad enough if all his virtuous labors prove of no avail after all; still worse if he is proved a conspirator instead of a philanthropist; and it must be admitted that present appearances are rather unfavorable. Is there any reason why the Associated Press would not help him out of the scrape? In the meantime, the unrighteous Smith, whom it would have been so good a thing to crush, had he only submitted in a decent manner to be crushed, asks some questions which it is rather difficult to answer. We transcribe the conclusion of his speech in support of his motion for a new trial.

"Was ever a case, in the annals of criminal courts, so studded with rascality and falsehoods, to accomplish a wicked and malicious persecution of a man?"

"Can the District Attorney feel proud of such a cordon of supporters? At all events, can he feel his case to be longer worthy, and appropriate to his duties? Would it not be, may it please your Honor, a REPROACH TO THE GREAT COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, if a verdict, obtained under such circumstances, with a cordon of witnesses whose corrupting price is ferreted out and proved in every instance, beyond the possibility of doubt, *is allowed to stand*? And if there is no other testimony in the case than that of Northrup's and his wife's, (and it is upon their testimony, you will recollect, may it please your Honor, that this false version, also, of my letters wholly depends), can the government of Massachusetts look with pride upon a verdict sustained upon such hired and perjured characters, or upon such characters as we have demonstrated from the facts in this case? And if it can, I ask your honor, who in Massachusetts is safe? Who from another State, coming into Massachusetts, is safe? What is the guarantee that he will not have to pay the price of *black mail* every time that he comes within its jurisdiction, or suffer, perhaps, perpetual imprisonment? It cannot be so! This cannot be the record made up by Massachusetts. It cannot accord with the sense of honor of the prosecuting officer. He cannot but feel, that he has been the instrument of private *malice, perjury, conspiracy, and corruption*.

"May it please your Honor, I have withstood this matter, and have met it at every turn, as a man should meet it, feeling conscious of his innocence, and confident that the truth would in time be proved, as I believe in this case it has been now, incontestibly proved.

"I have gone thoroughly through all the phases with firmness and without evasion, and without unjustifiable recrimination of this, to me, painful case. If severe, I have been just to each actor in the conspiracy against me. It has been a work of time, of labor, of expense—but a work of duty to my family, to myself, to my confiding and abiding friends, and to the cause of public justice. I have submitted to no *black mailing* compromises to avoid the responsibilities of the issues tendered, grave as they have been. And no intimation of that kind stands against me. I have neither perverted the truth, nor submitted to falsehood, supinely. And whatever griefs this conspiracy has caused me, I have kept them as nearly to myself as possible. I have sought no commiseration, no implication of others in my sufferings. Conscious from the start of none but correct motives, and a total exemption from crime, my labor and perils have been to avert the consequences, by ferretting out the crimes of others against me."

Smith has evidently proved much more difficult to be operated upon than had been supposed by those who took him in hand. We suspect that if some of his prosecutors had been as wise three years ago as they are now, they would have allowed him to carry on his amours in peace, assuming that he is so amorous as they would have us believe. Indeed, the danger is, at present, that they will put themselves into the pit which they dug for him; but if they do, we think there are not many acquainted with the circumstances, who will not say that they deserve their fate.

INSURANCE.

1. *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Insurance for the State of New York*. Albany: 1866.
2. *Eleventh Annual Report of the Insurance Commissioners of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*. Part II., Life Insurance. Boston: 1866.

It seems to us that, if all who have any official control over the business of insurance would discharge their duties so carefully and faithfully as our State Superintendent does, the public would have no cause for any

serious apprehensions. This impression we derive solely from his reports, and the salutary influence which they exercise, for we have no personal acquaintance with Mr. Barnes. We make this remark because there are a certain class who, judging others by themselves, think that if a journalist expresses his approbation of the services of a public man, it follows that he has some selfish interest in doing so; as the same class pretend that if he criticises or censures, he is actuated by malice or a still worse motive, if such were possible. We have certainly no disposition to give needless pain, or to speak of any one more harshly than his conduct seems to deserve; whatever may seem to imply the contrary we are much more disposed to indulge in the language of approbation than that of censure.

Yet we praise no one until we are satisfied that he deserves it; nor does Mr. Barnes form an exception. For the five or six years we have been in the habit of examining his reports, he has always seemed to us to mean well; but whatever he meant we have never shrunk from criticising any views of his that seemed erroneous or inaccurate. We have taken the liberty to differ with him more than once in his estimates of different companies; we have regarded him as too lenient and too appreciative in some instances, and have not hesitated to say so. But in every succeeding report he has exhibited a decided improvement, and we have spoken of him accordingly. If he was ever loath to put the public on its guard against insolvent or dishonest companies, he is not so any longer; no one is more in favor of publicity; no one evinces more cheerful willingness to let the public know whatever has come to his knowledge that concerns its interests. In short, the only other public officer belonging to the Empire State who evinces equal vigilance, intelligence, and integrity in the discharge of his duties, is the Comptroller of New York city. Just as fearlessly as Mr. Brennan has exposed the machinations of our Gas Monopolies, and defeated their designs, Mr. Barnes has exposed and defeated those of certain insurance companies.

The Report whose proof-sheets are now before us, should be read by all who are interested in insurance; but that is not possible, since there is scarcely any one now who is not interested in insurance of some kind. In one form or other, its benefits are within the reach of the day-laborer and the servant-maid, for if they cannot secure a life-policy, they can at least get an accident-policy, and if the latter is of the right kind—that is, if obtained from a reliable source—it may enable the possessor to procure the former without any very serious detriment to health, as we may take occasion to show before we conclude these remarks. We now proceed to extract such passages from the Report as we think will be most interesting to our readers, when they bear in mind that Mr. Barnes makes no sinecure of his position, but evidently devotes his undivided energies to its duties. Speaking of the experience of last year, he justly says:

"It has been a year of sad and persistent disaster to both our Fire and Marine Insurance Companies, unrelieved by any features of consolation except those which always accompany affliction—the way of wisdom is rendered plainer and broader for the entrance of all within its portals. Low rates of premium, high commissions to brokers and agents, large expenses and heavy losses have, even with small or no dividends, made the gross expenditures exceed the gross income, and rendered the companies less strong in assets as compared with liabilities than at the end of the preceding year 1864. The hard and severe labors of a whole year can show only as its fruits an enlarged and costly experience, which, however, if properly studied and used, will hereafter constitute practical capital, although unknown as an asset in a company's balance-sheet or in our courts of judicature."

Before any official report of the losses sustained last year was made, every intelligent person was aware that they must have been very great; but probably those who anticipated most trouble were not prepared to learn what the Superintendent tells us in this Report, namely: that "the capitals of thirty-five New York Joint Stock Fire Insurance Companies were, on the 31st day of December, 1865, impaired" in certain amounts and percentages. Some are impaired to the extent of 23, 25, and even 28.89 per cent. respectively. This seems discouraging; but we are bound to remember that a year so disastrous to fire underwriters as 1865, does not come more than once in a decade—nay, probably not more than once in a quarter of a century.

The Superintendent is not of those who, although seemingly very friendly to one as long as he seems prosperous, and not in need of friendship, are always ready to give him a kick when they find him down. The Morris company had a good many of such friends while it was supposed to have plenty of money, and to be willing to spend a liberal portion of it in patronage; but the moment they found it was no longer able to pay they were the first to assail it. We did not fail to denounce such baseness at the time, reminding our readers that it does not follow that underwriters, more than other business men, are dishonest because they are unsuccessful and unable to pay their liabilities. We tried to show that, upon the contrary, none are more liable to failure than men of the most generous and honorable impulses, since it is such who are most easily imposed upon, and induced to part with their money without receiving any equivalent for it. We are glad to see that the State Superintendent takes the same view of the case, and fully agrees in the opinion we expressed three months ago of the Morris Company:

"While condemning the irregularities and faults in the conduct of the Morris, the Superintendent considers it *no more than just to its founders* to state that by their energy, zeal and activity in establishing and managing extensive agencies an example has been given to enterprising underwriters worthy of imitation, and notwithstanding the failure of this Company it still remains an established axiom of Insurance Economics, that volume of premium contributes largely to the stability of a Company. It should not be forgotten, however, that other laws of business are still un repealed and have concurrent jurisdiction, one of which is, that no risk should ever be taken without an adequate premium, and that the larger the extent of non-paying business the nearer is the approach of the final catastrophe of ruin and disgrace."—Ins. Rep., p. xxxv.

It has been seen that the Superintendent gives this credit to the *founders*; so did we. We gave no credit to those in whose hands the affairs of the company were when it failed; neither has he. Our reason was that we did not think they deserved any; and we suspect that he is of the same opinion. We were not, indeed, surprised to learn that there was not much left of the reputation of the Morris when it received a president from the office of the Metropolitan; nor can we say we were much surprised to learn, a few days since, that the same gentleman was taken back by the Metropolitan as if nothing had happened. As we may have been misinformed as to this fact, we do not vouch for its accuracy; although we believe it is strictly true. We do not mean that the gentleman alluded to is now the vice-president of the Metropolitan, as he was before; for that position, as well as every other available one, is occupied by a son of the president. In one sense this is all right enough, in our opinion; we think that Mr. Stansbury has suffered more from the moral influence of the Metropolitan than the Metropolitan can suffer from his.

Be this as it may, we cannot help believing that had he graduated at the Mercantile Mutual in Wall street, rather than in the dark basement at the corner of Broadway and Pine street, he would have made a much better president than he did for the Morris, although in shipping matters the latter confined itself exclusively to inland risks. In fact, we humbly think that either Mr. Walter or Mr. Newcomb would have given him better lessons on the difference between *meum* and *tuum*, than those which he seems to have received from the brigadier-general of the Home Guards. Nay, he could have got much safer instructions from the International, or the Security, although neither has any pretensions to that wisdom which results from age and long experience, and which, according to some who are old themselves, is the only true wisdom.

Those alluded to above are not the only points on which the report before us proves our views to have been correct, before any official action had been taken in regard to those to whom they related. Thus, for example, we spoke of the Croton Fire more than a year ago, remarking that its president was utterly unable to make anything better of it than a wreck, and advising that gentleman to cast off false pride, and take a lesson or two from the officers of the Washington or the Hope. When his resignation was accepted not long after, we expressed our fears that it was too late. Now the Superintendent alludes to the Company as follows:

"The impairment in the capital of the Croton Fire Insurance Company *has increased* since the 31st day of December last, the date of its Annual Statement, and a requisition will probably be made upon its stockholders to supply the existing deficiency."—p. xxxvii.

This will not be easy, seeing that the deficiency in December last amounted to \$31,676.95, and that the total amount of capital claimed by the company, is only \$200,000. If the increase in impairment has been much

since December, it is to be feared that the company will have to imitate the example of the Brevoort Fire, which, on being called upon for an official statement by the Superintendent, in March last, "as preliminary to a special examination," resolved to die at its own hands, rather than await the official execution which would have been pretty sure to take place before many months.

The record of Life Insurance for the past year is much more encouraging than that of either Fire or Marine; the business done has been unusually large, and it is rapidly increasing. It is not strange, then, that new Life companies are springing up almost weekly, and that those who fail in Fire or Marine Insurance, without having rendered much benefit to themselves or others, devote themselves to the thriving business with an air of as much importance and reliability as if the widow and the orphan had none to depend on before their time. Companies of this kind generally give themselves very comprehensive names, as if they had learned from experience that there is a large proportion of the public with whom the shadow is just as good as the substance. There are companies of all sorts of names, however, that are good, as well as bad and indifferent, so that we would no more judge a company by its name than we would a book by its cover, since one may be an excellent underwriter, and yet be very stupid in the science of christening.

We are glad to see that in this department also the State Superintendent is becoming considerably more outspoken than he used to be; but we can assure him that there is still considerable room for improvement in that direction; and we do so in no censorious spirit, but because we think that, if he only knew certain parties better than he does, we should sometimes see their names mentioned in his reports in no very appreciatory manner. But in most of the views of this character which he has given us, we entirely concur. Thus, for example, our readers will remember that on several occasions, within the last three years, we have felt it our duty to make some criticisms on the course pursued by the North America Life of this city. In his present Report, Mr. Barnes makes the following remark:

"The Superintendent has noticed with regret that the North America Life Insurance Company has engaged in the business of insuring against travelling accidents; thus *periling its Life policy-holders by experiments* in a new and comparatively untried field of Insurance *not within the scope of their contracts*. It is the duty of this department to *warn the public* that any Life Insurance Company which engages in Fire, Marine, Casualty, Accident, or any other branch of Insurance, adds new elements of hazard to its engagements, the extent or danger of which it is impossible to calculate with certainty, and which are entirely foreign and repugnant to a legitimate and safe system of Life underwriting. The main object of Life Insurance is *thus practically nullified* by exposing the policy-holders to those perils of business and speculation, the avoidance of which furnishes the main incentive for procuring a policy."—p. lxx.

This, though but a mild hint, ought to be enough. For our part our faith in the North America would not be much altered if it engaged at once,

as far as it could, in all conceivable kinds of insurance, for what one never had can no more be altered than lost. The Superintendent also alludes to some of the contrivances by which certain companies contrive to magnify their figures on paper. The following extract will serve as an instance:

"The Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company of New York *erroneously included accrued interest*, also deferred and unpaid premiums, as part of its income; this practice is not allowed by our form for Life Statements, which calls for income *actually received* during the year, not for what might, could, or should have been received. The headings of Income and Expenses call only for hard, solid, and *actual facts*—what money has been in fact received and expended during the year."

The Commissioners of Massachusetts allude to similar operations, thus: "The book-keeping device, which substitutes four or five falsehoods for one disagreeable truth, does not help the matter."* It is but right that the public should be aware that it is by processes of this kind that certain third or fourth rate life companies are made to seem to command more confidence than institutions like the New York Life, the New England Mutual, the Knickerbocker, the Equitable, and the *Etna*. There is not one of these on whose policy we would not set a much higher value than we do on that of the New Jersey corporation; although, perhaps, if we were gifted with more perception and understanding than has fallen to our lot, or could see further into dark places, we should have a higher appreciation of the Mutual Benefit.

If the Insurance journals would imitate the example of Mr. Barnes there would be much less insurance quackery than there is; but unhappily it is notorious that they have no criticisms to make on any company from which patronage may be expected until it has had to give up the ghost. We can assure their conductors that this remark is made in a friendly spirit. We are well aware that they would lose patronage if they attempted to criticise; but equally sure that they would gain more than they lost. This we know from our own experience, and we can illustrate it by facts which cannot be denied: In the very first number of our journal—published in June, 1860—we had an advertisement of four pages from the Mutual Life; the same appeared in the second number and was duly paid for; but the worthy president would not insert it the third time except we would not say of himself and his company what we did not believe to be true, but what we now are sure was not true but false.

Another insurance nabob, who thought to make us his humble servant in a similar manner, first advertising with us very freely, and then withdrawing because we would not puff him, was Mr. Martin, president of the Home Fire; but what he also received, and has continued to receive from us, for his pains, was scorn and contempt.

* Eleventh Ann. Rep. of the Ins. Commissioners of Mass., p. vii.

Let either deny this if he can. Well, what have we ever lost by presenting faithful though ludicrous portraits of both Winston and Martin to our readers in all parts of the world? One at least sought revenge in every petty form, but his boasted millions failed to do us the least harm. Instead of the patronage thus withdrawn by persons whose charlatanism cast that of the quack doctors into the shade, we received that of underwriters who would dissolve their companies at once, and forever, rather than have recourse to such contemptible means of making money; in short, for our criticisms we got scientific underwriters, men of education and social position in favor of investigation, as patrons, in exchange for the Messrs. Winston and Martin, who, no doubt, are very wealthy, but very shabby—less thought of in this community, by those whose good opinion is of any value, than many underwriters who do not pretend to have one-tenth as much money at their command.

If the insurance editors, instead of publishing the most fulsome adulation, in execrable English, of underwriters who value themselves, not according to their integrity, or the course which they pursued towards those who trusted them when engaged in other kinds of business, but according to the show they can make of figures, under the head of assets, &c., they, too, could afford to despise the class who hate critics as much as they do their old creditors. But if, after all, they must praise in order to live, let them at least have the thing in their own language; for although we cannot compliment them very highly on their style, it is in general as far superior to that of the parties who are most fond of puffing themselves as the style of Sallust is to that of Barnum. We would also advise them not to use "E-q." more than about one-tenth as often as they do, bearing in mind that the most distinguished men who have no special titles or academical prefixes, are spoken of in print in the English language as "Mr."

It is but fair to add that we have met with one or two exceptions among the Insurance journals. When the Baltimore Underwriter was first published, our attention was called to its peculiar character, by a gentleman in whose intelligence and judgment we had implicit confidence. Yet we preferred to express no opinion of it, which a reasonable number of specimens might not justify. Now it has had time enough to develop its character; and we cheerfully confess, that when we compare it with the general class of Insurance journals, we are surprised at its manly fearlessness, as well as at the decided ability with which it is conducted. The New England Insurance Gazette used to take courage sometimes and laugh at charlatans, and tell some unpalatable truths; but lately it has seemed, like others, to prefer the salve, or rather the *soap*, to the scalpel.

But it seems the legislators of Massachusetts are rather averse to criticism, and this may account for the altered tone of the Gazette. At all

events, they have once more done a foolish act—we mean the abolition of the Insurance Commission, the duties of which have hitherto been discharged by Mr. Elizur Wright and Mr. Geo. W. Sargent. To use the language of our most intelligent insurance correspondent, "Mr. Wright is a thorough mathematician, but radical in his views; he does not hesitate to step on the toes of anybody who puts his foot in his way. He does not hesitate to call a *spade* a *spade*; hence in his official position he has touched up parties who have now paid him off. The legislature has abolished the present commission, and provided for the appointment of one commissioner at \$2,000, with a clerk at \$1,000, to do all the work, which Messrs. Wright and Sargent have heretofore done. The present commission expires July 1, and it is somewhat doubtful if the governor reappoints Mr. Wright, who is, by the way, the best man for the office. By law, the life insurance companies doing business in Massachusetts pay for the valuation of their policies, one cent for each \$1,000. The amount of tax thus paid is \$5,650, which, also by law, was allowed to the the commissioners for clerk hire, in doing their laborious work. Thus, for example, the New England Mutual Life has paid as its share \$320, on \$32,000,000; and who will say that \$320, paid for actuarial services on such an amount, showing exactly the standing of that company, was not cheap? But in future the rate of valuation is to go into the treasury, and not to the commissioners' assistants." Such is the spirit of progress exhibited by the legislature of Massachusetts. Perhaps this is not strange after all, since the only really good substantial life company belonging to the state—the only one that compares favorably with the best elsewhere—is the New England Mutual.

Referring to mutual companies reminds us that the Globe Mutual, of this city, continues to make rapid progress. It seems it was but two years in existence on the 10th of June, inst., but during that time it had issued 5,190 policies, and insured to the amount of \$10,898,787. We see it has also declared a dividend of 50 per cent. on the first year's business, the amount to be applied in reduction of premiums after 1869, or in reversionary addition to policies. What say the managers of the Security and those of the North America to this? The National Life is another new company which has an excellent prestige. All its officers are experienced underwriters; and among its directors are several whose names would be a sufficient guarantee by themselves that what it undertakes it will faithfully perform.

Hartford is made a wonderful little city by the amount of insurance business transacted in it. It is a remarkable fact that the Aetna Fire alone does more than all the Boston fire companies put together; and we think that a similar comparison could be made between Hartford and Philadelphia, although the Aetna is not half so great a boaster as the Franklin Fire, nor is its system of arithmetic one-tenth so defective. The

Hartford institution has now been in existence nearly half a century, and has paid losses during that time amounting to \$19,127,410, leaving assets for future losses which amount in cash to over \$4,000,000.

The Phoenix Fire used to be a pretty good company, but somehow or other it does not thrive under its new president. We are assured that in one sense, at least, it fully justifies its name at present; the Phoenix, as most intelligent people are aware, being a *fabulous* bird, while the assets of the Phoenix Fire are said to partake somewhat of the fabulous also. But let us hope that when it gets more business its figures will be more accurate than they are now represented to be. The Connecticut Fire has quite a handsome record. It seems that its present surplus fund amounts to \$80,000, of which \$17,397.92 is in bank, ready for any loss that may require it, not to mention the amount in the hands of agents.

But there is another Aetna company in Hartford—the Aetna Life—which is worthy of comparison in strength and prosperity with its Fire Insurance namesake. It seems that only one other Life company issued so large a number of policies in 1865; and that it is pretty well prepared to redeem its policies, may be inferred from the fact that its capital stock and surplus now exceed \$3,000,000. The New England Fire is not quite so prosperous as its policy-holders might wish; but we are assured that the fault does not lie with its president, who always means well, and would have the company well too, if its secretary understood his business half so well as he does himself, or had one-fifth as much general intelligence. This may not be strictly correct; we merely note what seems to be the general opinion among those who know both best.

There are several other Hartford companies of whose operations we have notes from reliable sources; but for the present we can only mention one more, namely, The Travelers. This is undoubtedly the best Accident company in the United States, and we believe it is now the only accident company that issues life policies. It seems that up to the first of June, inst., it paid over two thousand losses for non-fatal injuries, in sums varying from \$5 to \$650 each—the total amount of this class being \$80,000. Up to the 15th inst. it lost \$150,500 by death, for which it had received only \$354.40 in premiums, but we believe that except in a very few recent instances, the whole amount has been paid to the heirs of the insured; yet its assets amounted on the first of June to \$700,641.64.

We have a mass of other statistics relative to the same company, which have been furnished us by a reliable correspondent, but we must examine them more closely before we deduce any conclusions from them, further than to remark, in general terms, that we only remember one European Life and Accident Company that has presented a record equally encouraging and wonderful.

HUGH B. JACKSON,
GROCCER,
IMPORTER AND DEALER
IN
WINES, TEAS, GROCERIES,
FRUITS, SAUCES, CONDIMENTS,
TABLE AND HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES, ETC.
192 FIFTH AVENUE.
(Madison Square.)

The partnership hitherto existing under the name of WM. H. JACKSON & Co. has been dissolved by mutual consent, and the business in all its branches is now carried on by the undersigned member of the late firm, who will continue to furnish the best goods at the most moderate prices.

Families may always rely on getting at our store the best Goods, in our line, the American market affords, at reasonable prices.

GOODS DELIVERED FREE IN ANY PART OF THE CITY.

ORDERS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY PROMPTLY ATTENDED TO.

Our facilities for importation are such that we can afford to sell the best Wines, Brandies, Teas, Fruits, &c., &c., at the lowest rates they can be procured in this country. The following articles are extracted from our extensive catalogue, which will be sent to any address on application.

Teas.

Oolong, Souchong, English Breakfast, Congou, Young Hyson, Hyson Imperial, &c., in the usual variety of packages, comprising all grades from medium to finest quality.

Sugars.

Stuart's Double Refined Leaf, Crushed, and Ground. Stuart's Refined White A, Yellow B, and Yellow C; Moller & Co's. Patent Cut Leaf, and Granulated, St. Croix, Porto Rico, and New Orleans.

Coffee.

Roasted, Ground, or in original packages, Old Mocha, Government Java, Sumatra, St. Domingo, Maracaibo.

Chocolate, Cocoa, &c.

French, Vanilla, American, spiced, Baker's No. 1 Chocolate, 1 Cocoa, and No. 1 Cocoa Paste, Baker's Broma, Taylor's Soluble, Cracked Cocoa, Cocoa Shells.

HUGH B. JACKSON, GROCER.

Cognac Brandy.

Otard, Dupuy & Co., Jas. Hennessy, Dark & Pale, of various Vintages, in wood or glass; Dupuy's White Brandy, for fruits.

Holland Gin.

Beaver, Stag, Wolfe's Schiedam Schnappe, Charles London Cordial, Old Tom.

Rum, &c.

Old Jamaica, Old St. Croix, New England, Bay Rum. St. Thomas, Elder Brandy, Peach Brandy, Metheglin.

Pure Old Wines, in Bottles and on Draught.

Madeira.

Blackburn, Reserve, Southside, Sicily.

Sherry.

Sierra, Pemartin, Duff, Gordon & Co., &c.

Port.

Sandeman's, Cockburn's, Queen's.

Clarets.

Chateaux Margeaux, Chateaux Lafitte, Chateaux Latour, Chateaux Leoville, and Beycheville in cases; Chateau de Vosegeat, St. Julien, &c., &c., Sauterne, various Brands.

Champagne,

Of all the different styles, and in the usual packages, pints and quarts. Moët & Chandon's, G. H. Mumm & Co.'s, Jules Mumm & Co.'s, Piper's Heidsieck, Ruennart, Pere & Fils, Madame Ve Oliequot's, Sparkling Moselle, Still and Sparkling Catawba.

Hock.

Johannisberger, Rudesheimer, Sparkling, &c., &c.

Malt Liquors.

Barclay, Perkins & Co.'s, Brown Stout and Porter, quart and pint bottles, Bass' East India Pale Ale, quart and pint bottles.

Foreign Fruits.

Boxes, $\frac{1}{4}$ Boxes, and $\frac{1}{8}$ Boxes Raisins in Layers; Boxes, $\frac{1}{4}$ Boxes, and $\frac{1}{8}$ Boxes in Bunches White Grapes, French and German Prunes in Glass and Wood, of the first quality, Eleme Figs, Sultan's Raisins in Drums, Zante Currants, Genoa Citron, Orange and Lemon Peel, Lemons, Oranges.

Nuts and Almonds.

Jordan, Paper, Soft, and Marseilles Shelled Almonds, Grenoble Walnuts, Naples, Pecan Nuts, Filberts, Brazil, and Hickory Nuts.

Preserves.

Citron, Quince, Quince Jelly, Peach, Pineapple, Crab-apple Jelly, Pear, Strawberry, Raspberry, Blackberry.

Extracts for Flavoring.

Vanilla, Lemon, Bitter Almond, Orange, Rose, Peach, Ginger, Celery, Nectarine, &c.

Flavoring Waters.

Peach, Orange, and Rose.

H. B. JACKSON,
No. 192 Fifth avenue (MADISON SQUARE),
New York.

NEW ENGLAND Mutual Life Insurance Co.

OF

BOSTON.

BRANCH OFFICE, 110 BROADWAY NEW YORK.

Directors in Boston.

SEWELL TAPPAN,
MARSHALL P. WILDER,
JAMES S. AMORY,
CHARLES HUBBARD,
GEORGE H. FOLGER,

HOMER BARTLETT,
FRANCIS C. LOWELL,
JOHN A. ANDREW,
JAMES STURGIS,
BENJ. F. STEVENS.

BENJAMIN F. STEVENS,

President.

JOSEPH M. GIBBENS,

Secretary.

Accumulation.....\$3,800,000

Distribution of Surplus in 1863.....\$750,000

Losses Paid in 22 Years, \$1,800,000.

Policies of all descriptions are issued by this Company.

Distributions of Surplus are to be made annually, beginning
November 1866.

Printed documents, pertaining to the subject, together with the report of the
Company for the past year, and tables of premiums, supplied gratis, or forwarded
free of expense, by addressing

SAMUEL S. STEVENS,

Agent and Attorney for the Company,

No. 110 BROADWAY,

Cor. of Pine street,
NEW YORK CITY.

STATEN ISLAND
FANCY DYEING
 ESTABLISHMENT,

Offices, Nos. 5 & 7 John street, New York,
 (TWO DOORS FROM BROADWAY.)

And 47 North Eighth Street, Philadelphia,

Continue their well-known business of Dyeing, Refinishing, &c
 They devote special attention to the

DYEING OF DRESS GOODS,

of every description, in the piece or in garments.

Broadcloths, Merinoes,

Muslin de Laines, Paramattas,

Silks, Velvets, Bonnet Ribbons,

Trimmings, Fringe

DYED SUCCESSFULLY

All kinds of Ladies' Garments dyed in a Superior Manner.

SILK, VELVET, AND OTHER

GARMENTS CLEANSED,

Either made up or ripped apart.

GENTLEMEN'S GARMENTS, COATS, PANTS, ETC., DYED OR CLEANSED.

Goods received and returned by Express. Only one Office
 in New York. No office in the city of Brooklyn.

BARRETT NEPHEWS & CO..

5 & 7 John Street, New York,

Two Doors from Broadway.

International Insurance Company,
OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK.
OFFICE No. 113 BROADWAY.

THE ASSETS OF THE COMPANY ARE AS FOLLOWS:

Cash Items	\$61,400 33
Loans on Bond and Mortgage and Collaterals.	264,845 00
United States Five-Twenties	530,400 00
United States Seven-Thirties.	247,187 50
United States Ten-Forties.	93,500 00
Other Securities.	151,125 60
Total Assets.	\$1,348,518 43

The Liabilities are pending losses due, not due, unadjusted, or in
suspense. \$85,895 56

OCEAN, MARINE, INLAND, & FIRE INSURANCE

CHARLES TAYLOR, *President.* HAMILTON BRUCE, *Vice-President.*
C. C. HINE, *Secretary.*
OLIVER A. DRAKE, *Assistant Secretary.*
J. H. PLATT, *Manager of Marine Department.*

PENNSYLVANIA CENTRAL RAILROAD,
STANDARD GAUGE and DOUBLE TRACK ROUTE,
RUNNING

From PHILADELPHIA to PITTSBURGH

From NEW YORK to PRINCIPAL WESTERN CITIES,

THIS IS IN ALL RESPECTS A FIRST-CLASS ROUTE.

ONLY ONE CHANGE OF CARS

To Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, Mansfield, Crestline, Fort Wayne, Steubenville, Wheeling, Newark, Columbus, etc., etc., etc.

ONLY TWO CHANGES OF CARS

To Indianapolis, Louisville, St. Louis, Cairo, Toledo, Milwaukee, Madison, Fulton, Rock Island, Davenport, Iowa City, Dunleith, Quincy, Burlington, Fort des Moines, Prairie du Chien, etc., etc., etc.

All trains by this line leave New York from the foot of Liberty, or the foot of Courtlandt street.

For through tickets apply at the

OFFICE OF THE COMPANY, No. 1 ASTOR HOUSE.

WM. H. HOLMES, General Passenger Agent.

NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA.



The Camden and Amboy, and Philadelphia
and Trenton Railroad Co.'s Lines,
FROM PHILADELPHIA TO NEW YORK,

AND WAY PLACES,

FROM WALNUT STREET WHARF,

LEAVE AS FOLLOWS, VIZ.

At 6 and 8, A. M., 12, M., and 1, 2, 6, and 7.45, P. M.

FROM KENSINGTON DEPOT,

At 1.50 and 11.15, A. M., and 4.30 and 6.45, P. M.

Lines from New York for Philadelphia.

Leave from foot of Cortlandt st. at 12, M., and 4, P. M., via Jersey City and Camden. At 7 and 10, A. M., 6, P. M., and 12 (night), via Jersey City and Kensington.

From foot of Barclay st. at 6, A. M., and 2, P. M., via Amboy and Camden.

From Pier No. 1, North River, at 12, M., 4 and 8, P. M. (Freight and Passenger), Amboy and Camden.

New York and Washington.

Leave New York, foot of Cortlandt st., at 8 and 10, A. M., and 7.30, P. M. and 12, night.

Leave Washington at 7 and 10.45, A. M., and 5 and 7.30, P. M.

WM. H. GATZMER, Agent.

THE
Hope Fire Insurance Company.

Office, No. 92 BROADWAY.

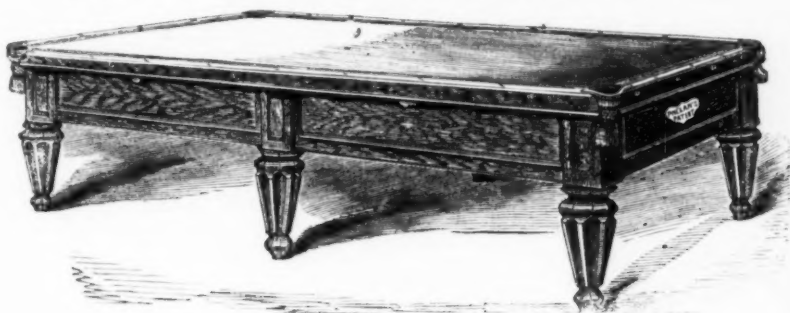
Cash Capital,	- - - - -	\$200,000 00
Assets, May 1, 1866,	- - - - -	249,320 10
Liabilities,	- - - - -	14,650 00

This Company insures against loss or damage by fire upon terms as favorable as any other responsible company.

JACOB REESE, President.

CHAS. D. HARTSHORNE, Secretary.

THE STANDARD
AMERICAN BILLIARD TABLE



AND COMBINATION CUSHIONS.

Approved and adopted by the Billiard Congress of 1859. The best and only reliable Billiard Table manufactured. Balls, Cues, and every article relating to Billiards, for sale by

PHELAN & COLLENDER,

Cor. Crosby and Spring streets, New York.

ÆTNA INSURANCE COMPANY

OF
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT.

CAPITAL - - - - - **\$3,000,000**

Cash assets over.....\$4,600,000 00
Losses paid in forty seven years.....19,127,410 06

LUCIUS J. HENDEE, President. **J. GOODNOW, Secretary.**

J. B. BENNETT, General Agent. Branch, 171 Vine street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

A. A. WILLIAMS, General Agent for New England. Office, Worcester, Mass.

CAPT. E. P. DORR, Superintendent Inland Department : Buffalo, N. Y.

Fire and Inland Navigation Policies issued at the Agencies of this Company, on terms adapted to the hazard and consistent with a fair profit.

ÆTNA LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

CAPITAL STOCK AND SURPLUS, OVER \$3,000,000.

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS:

E. A. Bulkeley,
Austin Dunham,
Gordon W. Russell,

Timothy M. Allyn,
Leverett Brainard,
Robert E. Day,

Daniel W. Norton,
Thomas K. Brace,
Appleton R. Hillyer.

E. A. BULKELEY, President.
AUSTIN DUNHAM, Vice-President.
T. O. ENDERS, Secretary.

GORDON W. RUSSELL, M.D., Medical Examiner and Consulting Physician.

Pamphlets containing rates of premium and information on the subject of Life Insurance may be obtained at the office of the Company or any of its Agents.

Agencies of the Company can be obtained by applying at the office either personally or by letter.

CONNECTICUT FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY, HARTFORD, CONN.

INCORPORATED 1850.

CASH ASSETS - - - - - **\$275,000**

Continue to insure on Real and Personal Property of all kinds, on the most favorable terms.

JOHN B. ELDREDGE, President.
MARTIN BENNETT, Jr., Secretary.

SECURITY INSURANCE CO.,

No. 119 Broadway, N. Y.

CASH CAPITAL - - - - - **\$1,000,000 00**
ASSETS, Aug. 1, 1865, - - - - - **1,585,100 93**

Insures FIRE, OCEAN, MARINE (cargo and freight only), LAKE, INLAND TRANSIT AND HARBOR RISKS.

Policies entitling the holders to SHARE DIVIDENDS, or at "NET RATES," issued at the option of the insured.

THOS. W. BIRTSALL, President. O. G. CARTER, Vice-President.
RICHARD L. HAYTICK, Secretary.

EXTRACTS FROM REVIEWS AND NOTICES BY LEADING JOURNALS.

* * This journal supports creditably the critical ability of New York, and often contains papers that would make a sensation if they appeared in some medium of longer traditional reputation. * * —*New York Daily Times*.

* * There is something so imposingly grand and solid in the contents of the *National Quarterly Review* that we doubt whether any of the British Quarterlies, in the palmiest days of their existence, have ever presented such a compact array of choice and attractive articles. The paper on Italian Poetry, which is made the vehicle for the introduction of some brilliant criticisms on the merits of a new translation of the "Orlando Furioso" of Ariosto, which has just appeared in London, is written with such eminent ability and thorough appreciation of the subject as forcibly to recall to our mind those classic days of yore when the vocation of criticism was so exalted and purifying as to deter any but minds of a gigantic calibre from entering the lists. The article on "Machiavelli and his Maxims of Government" is full of suggestive ideas, and is abundantly explanatory of the causes which led so many eminent and illustrious men to exert their talents and their influence to affix the stigma of infamy to his name. Passing by several other papers of great historical and literary value, we briefly desire to notice an admirably written and well timed article on "The Uses and Abuses of Petroleum," showing that many things which are useful and valuable in themselves are made the means, or rather the pretext, of ruining thousands. The writer animadverts in terms of peculiar severity on those who blindly invest their capital without instituting some enquiries in regard to the character, business standing, and resources of the principal members of the company in whose stock they are desirous of making an investment. * * —*Washington National Intelligencer*.

* * We always have arisen from a perusal of it with feelings of improvement, of an enlarged and liberalized conception of the capacity, and relations, and obligations, and greatness of man in his mundane as well as prospective sphere of life. Every article so presents the same direct, earnest, positive, yet undogmatical views, and is so uniformly supported by outside authority, or logical deductions, rivetting upon our convictions a sense of the rectitude of purpose and truthfulness of its writer, with no timid, shrinking, time-serving betrayals of soul and mind for a chance of popular favor, which such characteristics are sure to forfeit in the end, that we are quite impressed with a belief in their identity of authorship.

And yet, when we reflect on the great diversity of topics in history, in science, and art, and of the social, industrial, and political relations of men and nations, which its articles displays and the deep research and learning that characterizes each article, whether treating of laws or ethics, or medicine, or the physical explorations of human knowledge and ambition, and with the same apparent mastery over all, we appreciate the impossibility of their being the emanations of a single mind, but are reassured of an admirably organized association of minds, educated and elevated to a standard which may well become a national boast in the literary tournament of the world.

Again, we know no other publication that equals this in successfully maintaining with uniformity its original high standard of learning, sprightliness, earnestness, suavity of address, smoothness of diction, good taste in the selection of subjects, fearless independence in the handling of them, whether they be men, measures, or sentiments, and in defiant ability to maintain its claims for honest and useful ends. No one can read and forget its teachings, so deeply yet smoothly do they strike into the convictions of the mind. * * —*Portland Advertiser*.

* * It always gives us particular pleasure to notice the *National Quarterly*. Besides the taste and research with which its literary, historical, and scientific articles are prepared, there is a vein of sound judgment, strong sense, fair dealing, and enlarged liberality pervading it that must always make it a welcome visitor in every enlightened family. * * —*Baltimore Catholic Mirror*.

* * The paper on "Modern Correctors of the Bible" should be read generally, as it makes a very proper disposition of those pious tinkers who have presumed, without authority, to attempt to mend King James' version of the Bible. The notices and criticisms are as usual of much interest and value. * * —*New York Christian Times*.

Subscription, \$5 a year IN ADVANCE. Single number, \$1.25. The editor will send the work free of postage to any part of the United States, on receipt of subscription.

All communications to be addressed to

EDWARD I. SEARS, L.L.D., New York.

GREAT IMPROVEMENTS IN SEWING MACHINES.



EMPIRE SHUTTLE MACHINE.

Patented Feb. 14th, 1860

SALESROOM,
536 BROADWAY.

This Machine is constructed on entirely new principles of mechanism, possessing many rare and valuable improvements, having been examined by the most profound experts, and pronounced to be **SIMPLICITY and PERFECTION COMBINED.**

The following are the principal objections urged against Sewing Machines:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1.—Excessive fatigue to the operator. | 4.—Incapacity to sew every description of material. |
| 2.—Liability to get out of order. | 5.—Disagreeable noise while in operation. |
| 3.—Expense, trouble and loss of time in repairing. | |

The Empire Sewing Machine is exempt from all these objections.

It has a straight needle perpendicular action, makes the **LOCK or SHUTTLE STITCH**, which will **NEITHER RIP nor RAVEL**, and is alike on both sides; performs perfect sewing on every description of material, from **Leather** to the finest **Nansock Muslin**, with cotton, linen or silk thread, from the coarsest to the finest number.

Having neither **CAM nor COG WHEEL**, and the least possible friction, it runs as smooth as glass, and is

Emphatically a Noiseless Machine!

It requires **FIFTY PER CENT.** less power to drive it than any other Machine in Market. A girl of twelve years of age can work it steadily, without fatigue or injury to health.

Its strength and **WONDERFUL SIMPLICITY** of construction render it almost impossible to get out of order, and is **GUARANTEED** by the company to give entire satisfaction.

We respectfully invite all those who may desire to supply themselves with a superior article to call and examine this **UNRIVALLED MACHINE.**

But in a more especial manner do we solicit the patronage of

MERCHANT TAILORS,	DRESS MAKERS,
COACH MAKERS,	CORSET MAKERS,
HOOP SKIRT MANUFACTURERS,	GAITER FITTERS,
SHIRT and BOOTS MAKERS,	SHOE BINDERS,
VEST and PANTALON MAKERS.	

RELIGIOUS and CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS will be liberally dealt with.

One half hour's instruction is sufficient to enable any person to work this Machine to their entire satisfaction.

AGENTS WANTED for all towns in the United States where Agents are not already established. Also, for Cuba, Mexico, Central and South America, to whom a liberal discount will be given. **Terms, invariably Cash on delivery.**

T. J. McARTHUR & CO.,
536 Broadway.

ROYAL CRYSTAL PALACE FAMILY HOTEL,

SYDENHAM, NEAR LONDON.

This Hotel has recently been entirely redecorated, and greatly enlarged and improved. In all the arrangements, especial regard has been had to the comfort of the visitors. The rooms, which have been arranged in suites, with all the requisites of a private house, are capable of accommodating families whose establishments may demand an extensive or limited range of apartments. The hotel is situate within five minutes' walk of the Railway Station (Crystal Palace), and is divided from the Crystal Palace by the high road only. Immediate access is thus obtained to the Palace, and both the West End and City are within fifteen minutes' ride. The garden is perfectly secluded, and commands uninterrupted views of some of the loveliest scenery in England. An elegant Coffee Room for Gentlemen, fitted with every comfort, and supplied with every luxury. Cuisine and wines of first-rate quality.

The Lawn Rooms may be engaged for Private Dinner Parties by giving the Manager one or two days' notice; and during the Summer months a liberal Table d'Hôte will be provided daily, at 2, P. M., at 3s. 6d. each, and at 6.30, with Dessert, at 6s. each, attendance included.

FRENCH AND GERMAN SPOKEN.

JAY COOKE & CO.,
BANKERS,

Fifteenth Street, Opposite Treasury and State Departments,
WASHINGTON,

AND

No. 114 SOUTH THIRD STREET,
Philadelphia,
AGENTS FOR GOVERNMENT LOANS.

DEALERS IN GOVERNMENT BONDS, TREASURY NOTES,
CERTIFICATES, ARMY AND NAVY VOUCHERS,
COIN, CURRENCY, AND EXCHANGE.

CAREFUL ATTENTION GIVEN TO
COLLECTIONS
Upon the several Departments of the Government, and
prompt returns made.

~~Ed~~ In connection with our houses in PHILADELPHIA and WASHINGTON, we have opened
an office at

No. 1 NASSAU STREET, Cor. of WALL STREET, NEW YORK.

The resident partners will be

Mr. EDWARD DODGE, late of Clark, Dodge & Co., New York;

Mr. H. C. FAHNESTOCK, of our Washington house; and

Mr. PITT COOKE, of Sandusky, Ohio.

We shall give particular attention to the purchase and sale of

GOVERNMENT SECURITIES

and to orders for purchase and sale of STOCKS, BONDS, and GOLD.

JAY COOKE & Co.

THE
NATIONAL PARK BANK
OF NEW YORK.

CAPITAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$2,000,000
SURPLUS	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,300,000

DIRECTORS:

WILLIAM H. FOGG,
JOSEPH E. BULKLEY,
JOHN H. MACY,
OLIVER HOYT,
GEORGE J. BYRD,
GEORGE H. FOTTS,
PETER HAYDEN,

ARTHUR LEARY,
JACKSON S. SCHULTZ,
JOHN TOWNSEND, JR.,
HULL CLARK,
EUGENE KELLY,
WM. T. BLODGETT,
CHARLES E. HILL,

WILLIAM K. KITCHEN.

THIS BANK IS PREPARED TO DRAW

STERLING BILLS

ON THE

UNION BANK OF LONDON,

AT THE CURRENT RATE OF EXCHANGE.

J. L. WORTH, *Cashier.*

W. K. KITCHEN,
President.

ENGRAVING.

The undersigned, having had eighteen years' practical experience in ENGRAVING, desires to call the attention of the Ladies and Gentlemen of this city, and strangers sojourning, to this most important fact, viz.:

THAT A JUST EQUIVALENT FOR THEIR MONEY

can only be had at the hands of those who do the work, and that none but

PRACTICAL ARTISTS

can do justice to their wants, for the simple reason that others cannot comprehend THEIR TASTE, having no knowledge of the art, and scarcely any other desire than to get their money.

Amongst his patrons will be found Ladies and Gentlemen of the highest order of culture and taste in this city.

PARIS AND LONDON STYLES

engraved from specimens submitted for choice, and full satisfaction guaranteed.

DIPLOMAS FOR COLLEGES AND SEMINARIES

engraved in elegant style, and specimens furnished to those who wish to see them.

STAMPING IN COLORS EXECUTED IN THE BEST MANNER.

JAMES McLEES,

PRACTICAL ENGRAVER, 609 Broadway, N.Y.

MESSRS. TRÜBNER & CO.,

60 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON,

For more than twelve years have been mainly instrumental in bringing before the literary and scientific public of Europe, the best productions of the mind of America, and they continue to offer, as heretofore, all the facilities of their old and valued connection, both at home and abroad, to promote, through approved and well-tried channels, the sale of works entrusted to them by their friends in America.

MESSRS. TRUBNER & Co. supply English and Foreign (Old and Modern) books, periodicals, newspapers, etc., and everything connected with Literature, Science and the Arts, on advantageous terms, and will be happy to enter into correspondence with Librarians and Booksellers in the United States requiring an efficient European agency.

GRAND HOTEL DU LOUVRE,
RUE RIVOLI,
AND
GRAND HOTEL,
BOULEVARD DU CAPUCINS.

These two large Hotels are carried on by the

“COMPAGNIE IMMOBILIERE DE PARIS.”

They contain 1,400 Bed Rooms and Sitting Rooms, at fixed charges, the scale of which ranges from fr. 4 to fr. 3 at the Grand Hôtel, and from fr. 3 to fr. 20 at the Grand Hotel du Bourse.

These gradations of tariff, together with the size of these two Hotels, situated in the finest parts of Paris, insure to Travelers and Families the certainty of obtaining accommodation suitable to their requirements, means and tastes.

The Tables d'Hôte, providing 700 places, are served at six o'clock, the Public being admitted equally with Residents in the two Hotels. Both Hotels have, moreover, Public Restaurants, with Bill of Fare at fixed prices.

The Chief Saloons in each Hotel are available for Public or Wedding Breakfasts and Dinners; also Fêtes and Family meetings.

Each Hotel is provided with a magnificent

READING ROOM,

a Billiard and Coffee-Room, Bath-Rooms, and also with a Public Telegraph Office, in correspondence day and night with Europe.

JOHN ARTHUR & CO.,

AGENTS TO THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN EMBASSIES,

BANK AND EXCHANGE OFFICE,

House, Estate, and General Commission Agents, and Wine Merchants,

10 Rue Castiglione, Paris,

Successor to his Father—Established 30 Years.

Messrs. JOHN ARTHUR & CO beg to call the attention of the Nobility and Gentry visiting Paris and the Continent to the advantages afforded by the following branches of their Establishment:

BANK AND EXCHANGE.

Checks on the various Banks of Great Britain cashed on presentation at the highest premium, thus avoiding the inconvenience of carrying Circular and other Notes, the usual Bankers' Commission not being charged. Accounts Current allowed and interest granted on Deposits. Letters of Credit given for India, China, and the Continent. Sales and purchases of public securities effected.

HOUSE AND ESTATE AGENCY.

Furnished and Unfurnished Houses and apartments of every description procured in Paris, its Environs, or any part of France, without any expense to the Tenant. Estates Bought and Sold. Temporary or other accommodations secured in the best Hotels by advising the Firm.

COMMISSION AGENCY.

Every description of Merchandise, Furniture, Works of Art, Bronzes, &c., obtained at the trade price, thus saving the buyer from 20 to 30 per cent.

FOREIGN AND FRENCH WINES.

The extensive stock of JOHN ARTHUR & CO., formed during the last thirty years enables them to supply Wines of the finest quality on most moderate charges. Wines in Cask or Bottle forwarded to all parts. Goods Forwarded or Warehoused. Parcels sent daily from Paris to London for three francs and upwards. Letters and parcels may be addressed to the care of the above Firm till called for. No expenses incurred for Agency. All information gratis.

JOHN ARTHUR & CO.,

ESTABLISHED THIRTY YEARS,

10. Rue Castiglione. 10.

CONTENTS OF No. XXV.

JUNE, 1866.

- I.—SOCRATES AND HIS PHILOSOPHY.
- II.—THE SATURNIAN SYSTEM.
- III.—HEINE AND HIS WORKS.
- IV.—WHY THE OPERA FAILS IN NEW YORK.
- V.—BUDDHISM AND ITS INFLUENCE.
- VI.—THE SOUTH AMERICAN REPUBLICS, AND THE MONROE DOCTRINE.
- VII.—GREEK TRAGIC DRAMA—SOPHOCLES.
- VIII.—PARTISAN RECONSTRUCTION.
- IX.—NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

NOTE—The postage on the *National Quarterly Review* to any part of the United States, is only four cents per copy, whether paid at the beginning or end of the quarter; the New York city postage is but two cents. All subscribers pay their own postage. Foreign subscribers, whose copies must be prepaid, have to add the regular rates to their subscriptions.

AGENTS

FOR THE

National Quarterly Review.

The Review may be had of the following Agents:

- NEW YORK.—New York, Sinclair Tonsey, General Agent, 121 Nassau street. Rochester, D. M. Dewey. Buffalo, J. S. Hawks. Troy, S. T. Hoyt.
- CONNECTICUT.—New Haven, J. H. Pease. Hartford, F. A. Brown.
- DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—Washington, Taylor & Maury.
- ILLINOIS.—Chicago, John R. Walsh.
- KENTUCKY.—Louisville, J. W. Clarke and F. A. Crimp.
- MAINE.—Portland, George R. Dennis & Brother. Augusta, Edward Fernald.
- PENNSYLVANIA.—Philadelphia, James K. Simon, 33 South Sixth street, General Agent for Pennsylvania. Pittsburg, Kay & Co.
- BRITISH AMERICA.—Kingston, C. W., T. W. Robinson. Montreal, B. Dawson & Son. Quebec, P. Sinclair. St. Johns, N. B., J. & A. McMillan. Halifax, E. G. Fuller.
- MASSACHUSETTS.—Boston, A. Williams & Co., General Agents for New England; W. V. Spencer, 131 Washington street; John J. Dyer & Co., 35 School street. Springfield, Chapin, Birdsever & Co. Lowell, B. C. Sargent.

LIFE AND ACCIDENT INSURANCE.

THE ORIGINAL

Travelers Insurance Company,

OF HARTFORD, CONN.,

INSURES AGAINST

ACCIDENTS OF ALL KINDS,

AT LOW RATES OF PREMIUM.

CASH CAPITAL, - \$500,000,

WITH SURPLUS OF \$150,000.

NET CASH ASSETS, June 1, 1866 - - \$700,641 64

THE TRAVELERS INSURANCE COMPANY OF HARTFORD insures against *all kinds of accidents*, (traveling risk included), for any term from one month to five years, for any sum from \$500 to \$10,000 in case of fatal accident, or \$3 to \$50 per week in the event of disabling bodily injury, for from \$30 to \$60 annual premium. A liberal discount on three and five year policies.

LIFE AND ACCIDENT INSURANCE COMBINED.

THE TRAVELERS OF HARTFORD also writes policies insuring against **LOSS OF LIFE FROM ANY CAUSE** [whether disease or accident], *with compensation in case of disabling accident*, thus combining all the benefits of life and accident insurance under one policy, at the lowest rates of Premium.

Oldest Accident Insurance Company in America.

THE TRAVELERS OF HARTFORD was the first Company to successfully introduce the practice of Accident Insurance in this Country. During the first two years of its existence it issued *over Fifty Thousand Policies*, and paid *upwards of Two Thousand Losses*, including thirty-five total losses [by death], in which the large sum of \$121,500 was realized for less than \$700 received in Premiums.

Premiums Low, and Losses Paid Promptly.

Policies written without delay by Agents of the Company, in all principal Towns and Cities throughout the United States and Canadas.

Marine Policies issued for voyages to distant foreign ports.

JAMES G. BATTERSON, Pres't.

RODNEY DENNIS, Sec'y.